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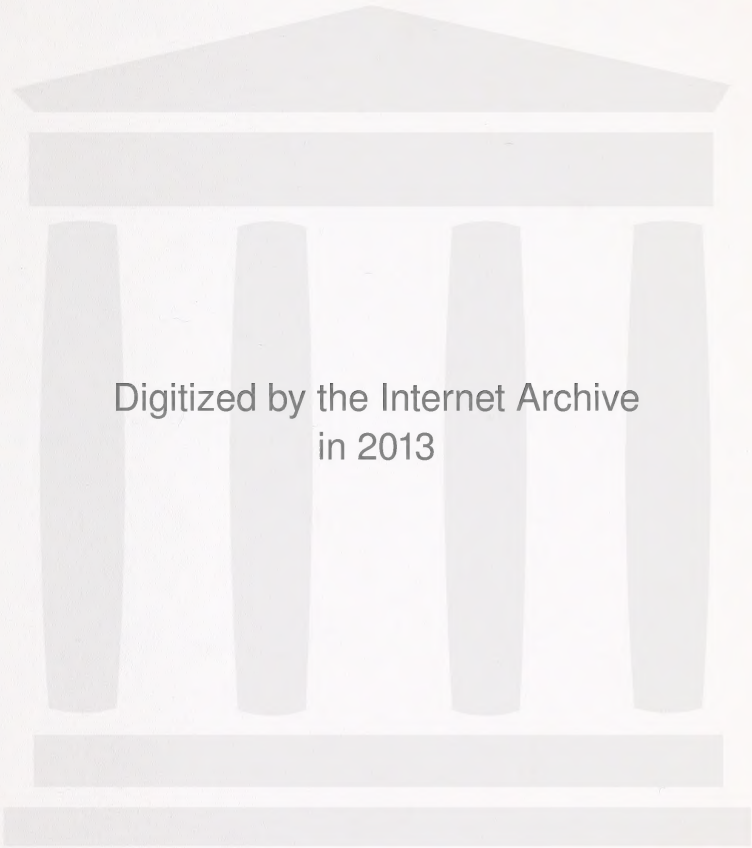
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THE

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METHODIST REVIEW.

JULY, 1887.

ART. I.—WHAT ENGLAND IS DOING IN INDIA.*

NEITHER the pessimist nor the optimist can logically estimate the prospects of the human race if he does not take into the account, as a chief datum, the modern invasion of nearly all the outlines of the world by Christian civilization. Long ago there were spirited navigation and discovery, and some partial settlements in the foreign world, notably by the Portuguese, Spaniards, and Hollanders. But colonization, prompted by commerce, yet tending to the civilization and unification of the world, is a characteristic, if not a peculiar fact, of our times. Considered in its connection with the modern means of rapid intercommunication, it becomes a profoundly interesting fact. In its most general aspect it means the domination of the Aryan race, especially of its great Teutonic branch. We write this paper in the oldest historic field of that race, India; the arena of one of its earliest migrations from the Bactrian highlands. It is a curious thought for an American, here amidst these hoary Oriental scenes, that he and all his kindred nationalities, with, indeed, all the great peoples of Europe, are Hindus —or at least brothers of the Hindus; that from those northwestern table-lands emigrant hosts descended into these plains, and founded the Hindu race and the Brahmanic faith; into Persia, and founded the Zoroastrians; into Hellas and Latium, and founded the Greek, Etruscan, and Latin peoples; into the north-west, and founded the varied Germanic nations, peopling England with Anglo-Saxons and Northmen, and invading, at

* *India's Needs.* By John Murdock, LL.D. Madras, 1883.

last, America, Australia, and the South Sea Islands. But though the mighty movement began in prehistoric times, nothing in history is more certain; linguistic science has demonstrated it. The elder emigrants, Hindu, Persian, Greek, and Latin, have long since decayed; but the Teutons are to-day in full vigor, and, under the ancient impulsion, are marching around the planet. Their Anglo-Saxon branch, especially, seems destined to a universal mission of colonization and civilization. While Russia is bearing European thought and civilization (though in a rude form) into northern and central Asia, and France into northern Africa, the Anglo-Saxons are not only dominant in the United States, in Canada, and in the great island world of the South Seas, but in southern Africa, Ceylon, and above all in India.

What, in a century or two, must come of this almost universal movement of Aryan migration and colonization? The coasts of Africa, north, west, south, and east, are now dotted with its settlements; and it is reaching her very heart by the Congo, and all the outlines of Asia are more or less studded with them. Steam navigation, railroads, magnetic telegraphs, and Christian ideas go with them every-where. Can these powerful agencies continue to operate without dispelling the barbaric traditions and the moral darkness of the whole foreign world?

The question is peculiarly relevant to the English sway in India. That sway has no parallel in the history of the world. It controls twice the population that imperial Rome ruled in her greatest power. No Moslem sovereign now reigns over a Mohammedan population as large as that which Victoria rules in this remote land, to say nothing of the millions who are of other religions. An incredible but an incontestable fact it is, that Christian England is to-day the greatest Mohammedan dominion on earth.

Including the various religions of India, some two hundred and fifty millions of its people acknowledge the scepter of England. They amount to about one sixth of the human race. If we add the growing millions of the United States, Canada, Australia, Ceylon; the recent British acquisitions in Burmah; the experiment on the Congo; the tentative projects of the German Empire in Zanzibar and elsewhere, it evidently can-

not be long before the Teutonic Aryans will rule a fourth of the human race; and if their industrial and Christian civilization is a blessing, pessimism will need to qualify much its speculations on the destiny of the world. European thinkers now admit that the English language is to be the leading speech of the earth. The American traveler hardly needs any other in Europe, and here in India and Ceylon he hears it almost every-where spoken, imperfectly, indeed, but intelligibly, by men, women, and children, not only in the hotels, but in the shops and along the streets.

And yet this British sway in India is a constant subject of hostile criticism both at home and abroad. The home English journals borrow their invectives largely from the native Indian press; but the very existence of the latter is one of the most significant proofs of the beneficent tendency of the English rule. India knew nothing of the newspaper till England gave it to her. Few foreigners know how extensive this great exponent of civilization has become there. The first vernacular periodical was issued by missionaries in 1822. When the "Press Regulations" were repealed, in 1835, there were but six native papers, and not one of them political. The press is now as free, and, it must be added, as vituperative, as that of London or New York, and last year (1885) the public statistics showed it to amount to about 450 distinct periodicals. They are: English, 175; Bi-lingual, 51; Bengali, 24; Burmese, 1; Canarese, 3; French, 1; Gujarati, 31; Hindi, 15; Malayalam, 4; Marathi, 17; Oriya, 3; Punjabi, 1; Persian, 1; Portuguese, 4; Sanskrit, 1; Tamil, 10; Telugu, 3; Urdu, or Hindustani, 102. One of the sixteen English "dailies" is conducted by natives; and English is one of the languages of most of the Bi-lingual journals. Some of the native papers are of high character, but many of them have very limited circulation, and most of them show crude notions of political science, especially of political economy, and recklessly criticise the administration of the government, particularly its most important schemes of internal improvement. A publicist said, two years since, that "any one who will go through the weekly reports of the native papers cannot help thinking that, in the current vocabulary, education means the loss of respect for government; public spirit is synonymous with empty bluster; patriotism is

hatred of Englishmen; and impartiality is gross abuse." An attempt of Sir G. Campbell to introduce gymnastic exercises for the physical improvement of native pupils in the English schools was opposed by an editor as a project for disabling the students that they might not successfully compete with Europeans in civil service examinations. The creation of an agricultural department, by Lord Mayo, was stigmatized by a Calcutta journal as a scheme for providing "a wider field for the extension of vice-regal patronage." The creation of new functions, however necessary to develop the country, is opposed by the Calcutta *Liberal* as having no other purpose than to provide for "the bureaucracy and their relations at the public expense." These journals continually embarrass the administration by blundering comments and deprecatory denunciations, mourning over "the spoliation of India," the "official greediness of foreigners," "India bleeding to death," etc. Some of them do not hesitate to make preposterous comparisons between the ancient native and modern European civilization. Popular opinion is thus heedlessly flattered, and, at the same time, perverted. Enlightened natives deplore this fact. Monamohun Ghose complains of his countrymen as "doing a great deal of mischief" by such follies. "It is quite sickening," he says, "to hear the remark made at almost every public meeting, that the ancient civilization of India was superior to any that Europe has ever had." The editor of the *Indian Mirror* says: "Modern science is still very much in its infancy, and has yet to make much greater progress to enable it to even approach one tenth part of the ancient philosophy of the East. Our modern scientists are not fit to hold a candle to some of those learned men of our country who are well versed in the scientific teachings of the East."

Such ridiculous nonsense saturates the native press. The government, in its beneficent schemes, especially of education and internal improvements, has to confront every-where this ignorant babble, and the popular prejudices produced by it. But, we may repeat, the very existence of this unshackled press is proof of the advancement of civilization under the British sway. Bad as it is, the press is the mightiest organ of modern progress. No people among whom it is allowed free play can be stagnant; even its calumnious recklessness may

have a salutary influence on governments. The discussion and collision of opinions, which are its life, cannot fail to fill with life the popular mind; and to make men think is always to make them better. Set them thinking, even to quarreling about their thoughts, and sooner or later the truth will emerge from their disputes and prevail over their fallacies. England, then, has done a good work in producing in India a free and numerous press; an instrument entirely un-Asiatic, and perhaps the most effective one that could be introduced for the resurrection of the dormant Oriental mind.

By this, and still more by other means, England has initiated European civilization in India, which promises to be permanent. Perverse as is the native press, and pervasive as may be the popular prejudice to which it so heedlessly ministers, she has reclaimed a host of the best native minds by her educational institutions, and set in operation internal improvements, commercial schemes, and social changes which certainly can never be reversed, and which cannot continue without revolutionizing the social, religious, and material condition of these thronging millions. Enlightened natives cannot doubt the superiority of the English sway over that of any preceding government in their recorded history. The "young India" educated in the English colleges can no longer accredit the native superstitions; if they do not immediately become Christians, they either reject the old religions or "rationalize" them away. The higher mind of India may be said generally to have become imbued with European thought. The early stages of such changes are usually, if not necessarily, slow, but they sooner or later reach a crisis where they are no longer ambiguous, but become dominant, and, thenceforward, determine all things. The boasted "ancient civilization" is seen by these advanced minds to have been a huge though splendid fallacy. Modern science refutes it at almost every important point; and modern thought is daily gaining ground in India. Max Müller says: "Readers who have been led to believe that the Vedas of the ancient Brahmans, the Avesta of the Zoroastrians, the Tripitaka of the Buddhists, the King of Confucius, or the Koran of Mohammed are books full of primeval wisdom and religious enthusiasm, or at least of sound and simple moral teaching, will be disappointed on consulting these volumes. . . .

It is but natural that those who write on ancient religions, and who have studied them from translations only, not from original documents, should have had eyes for their bright rather than dark sides. No one who collects and publishes extracts can resist—no one, at all events, so far as is known, has ever resisted—the temptation of using what is beautiful, or, it may be, what is strange and startling, and leaving out what is commonplace, tedious, or, it may be, repulsive. . . . We must face the problem in its completeness, and I confess it has been for many years a problem to me, ay, to a great extent, is so still, how the sacred books of the East should, by the side of so much that is fresh, natural, simple, beautiful, and true, contain so much that is not only unmeaning, artificial, and silly, but even hideous and repellent. This is a fact, and must be accounted for in some way or other." Splendid as may be the old poetry of India (the Ramayana, Mahabharatta, etc.), profound (though unsubstantial) as may be her early philosophic speculations, her real science was of the most limited extent, and mixed and mystified with endless puerilities. It has been justly said that "her best development was represented by Europe in the Middle Ages." Excepting the enlightened, the "Anglicised," minds to which allusion has been made, she is to-day in the condition of Europe in the thirteenth century. She claims to have had sixty-four sciences; among them are:

12. The science of prognosticating by omens and augury.
14. Science of healing, which may include restoration to life of the dead, the reunion of severed limbs, etc.
15. Physiognomy, chiromancy, etc.
36. The art of summoning by enchantment.
37. Exorcism.
38. Exciting hatred between persons by magical spells.
41. The art of bringing one over to another's side by enchantment.
42. Alchemy and chemistry.
44. The language of brute creatures from ants upward.
47. Charms against poison.
48. Information respecting any lost thing obtained by astronomical calculations.
50. The art of becoming invisible.
51. The art of walking in the air.
52. The power of leaving one's own body and entering another lifeless body or substance at pleasure.
56. Restraining the action of fire.

57. The art of walking upon water.
58. The art of restraining the power of wind.
62. The art of preventing the discovery of things concealed.
63. The art by which the power of the sword or any other weapon is nullified.
64. The power of stationing the soul at pleasure in any of the five stages.

"India," says Dr. Murdock, "never ranked higher in civilization than it does at present. A Pundit and a university graduate represent the two types of civilization." The university graduates are becoming numerous, occupying official posts and wielding social influence. Their modern scientific ideas are quite incompatible with their old faiths. One of them has said, what now most of them believe, that "the much vaunted civilization of India was of a peculiar type, and can never bear any comparison to what we call modern civilization."

Murdock mentions, with strong emphasis, as one of the greatest benefits conferred on India, that "England has given her peace." Before the English domination the peninsula was, for ages, like the Italian peninsula during the Middle Ages, the arena of continual invasion and battle; of territorial division and subdivision; with resultant massacres, famines, and devastations. Dr. Hunter, an able and altogether trustworthy authority, writes:

India has, at its north-eastern and north-western corners, two opposite sets of gateways which connect it with the rest of Asia. Through these gateways, successive hordes of invaders have poured into it; and in the last century the process was still going on. Each set of new-comers plundered and massacred without mercy and without restraint. During seven hundred years the warring races of Central Asia and Afghanistan filled up their measure of bloodshed and pillage to the full. Sometimes they returned with their spoil to their mountains leaving desolation behind; sometimes they killed off, or drove out, the former inhabitants, and settled down in India as lords of the soil; sometimes they founded imperial dynasties, destined to be crushed, each in its turn, by a new host swarming into the country through the Afghan passes. In the middle of the last century six such inroads, on a great scale, took place in twenty-three years. Invasion signified not merely a host of twenty to a hundred thousand barbarians on the march paying for nothing, and eating up every town, and cottage, and farmyard; burning and slaughtering on the slightest provocation, and often in mere sport. It usually also meant a grand final sack and massacre at the capital of the invaded country.

On the first of the six invasions, eight thousand* men, women, and children were hacked to pieces in one forenoon in the streets of Delhi. The border-land between Afghanistan and India lay silent and waste; indeed, districts far within the frontier, which had once been densely inhabited, and which are now again thickly peopled, were swept bare of inhabitants. The history of the fertile valley of Assam, in the north-eastern corner of India, is one long narrative of invasion and extermination. Anciently the seat of a powerful Hindu kingdom, whose ruined forts of massive hewn stone we find buried in the jungle, Assam was devastated, like the rest of eastern Bengal, by the fanatical Mohammedan invaders in the fifteenth century from the west. A fierce aboriginal race (the Koch) next swooped down on it from the north. They in turn were crushed by another aboriginal race (the Ahams) from the east; and these again were being exterminated by the Burmese from the south, when they implored the English to interfere. During the last century, large tracts of Assam were depopulated, and throughout that province and eastern Bengal thirty thousand square miles of fertile frontier districts were laid waste. The task of reclaiming these tracts has been a heavy one. In the now prosperous districts of Goalpara, with its half million of inhabitants, more money was spent, until twenty-five years ago, by government, in rewards for killing the wild animals than the whole sum realized from the land revenue. Not less than thirteen thousand square miles of border district have been reclaimed, and yield each year, at the lowest estimate, eighteen millions sterling worth of products, or more than the average normal cost of the Indian army and the whole defense of the Indian Empire.†

Macaulay, writing of the ravages of the Mahrattas, says:

The highlands which border on the western coast of India poured forth a yet more formidable race, which was long the terror of every native power, and which yielded only to the genius of England. It was under the reign of Aurungzebe that the wild clans of plunderers first descended from their mountains. Soon after his death every corner of his wide empire learned to tremble at the mighty name of the Mahrattas. Many fertile viceroyalties were entirely subdued by them. Their dominions stretched across the peninsula from sea to sea. Mahratta captains reigned at Poona, at Gwalior, in Guzerat, in Berar, and in Tanjore. Nor did they, though they had become great sovereigns, therefore cease to be freebooters. They still retained the predatory habits of their forefathers. Every region which was not subject to their rule was wasted by their incursions. Wherever their kettle-drums were heard, the peasant threw his bag of rice on his shoulder, hid his small savings in his girdle, and fled

* Elphinstone thinks thirty thousand nearer the truth.

† *England's Work in India.*

with his wife and children to the mountain or the jungle. Many provinces redeemed the harvests by the payment of an annual ransom. Even the wretched phantom who still bore the imperial title stooped to pay this ignominious blackmail. The camp-fires of one rapacious leader were seen from the walls of the palace of Delhi; another at the head of his innumerable cavalry descended year after year on the rice-fields of Bengal.

Even the sea, says Hunter, was a source of danger. On the Bay of Bengal the pirates from the Burmese coast sailed up the great rivers, burning the villages, massacring or carrying off into slavery the inhabitants. On the other side of the peninsula, in the Indian Ocean, piracy was conducted on a grander scale. Wealthy rajahs kept up luxurious courts upon the extortions which their pirate fleets levied from trading vessels and from the villages along the coast.

For a century England has checked this general disorder and "protected the country from all external enemies." She has done so at an annual expense to the people of only one rupee per head of the army. "The value of the product of a single province reclaimed from ruin is equal to the whole outlay." This single blessing of peace, though itself won by the sword, is an inestimable benefaction from the English to the Indians. Without it there could be no prosperity, no hope for the country; with it, she has been able to enter upon a career the possibilities of which seem limitable only by her own will.

Under the English sway India has not only been protected against the old almost habitual invasion and ever-recurring devastation, and, thereby, enabled to pursue in peace her industries and develop her material interests, but a truly immense system of internal improvements has been prosecuted by the government facilitating this material development. "The English," says Hunter, "have had to build up, from the very foundations, the fabric of a civilized government. The material framework for such a government—public buildings, court-houses, barracks, jails, hospitals, and schools—has cost not less than five hundred millions of dollars." Even the common roads had to be largely reconstructed, for the English found the country in general ruin. The statistics of the roads of Bengal and the Bombay Presidency are imperfect; not including them, the other provinces reported, three years

ago, 84,000 miles of roads. In 1884 there were 11,527 miles of railroad in operation, and 3,355 miles in course of construction. The telegraph is beginning to thread the whole country; in 1883 no less than 21,740 miles of wires were reported. The irrigating canals (a most important provision in India) have been greatly extended. Murdock affirms that the improved private buildings by which India has been enriched during the century "far exceed in value the public buildings."

This certainly is progress; it is renovation, it is "modern civilization," and it is placing India foremost in the Asiatic world in what has been distnguished as our new "era of industrial civilization." And these are the substantial, the fundamental conditions of that civilization—conditions that cannot readily be counteracted. They imply infinitely more than they express. A sagacious observer, Sir Arthur Lyall, in his *Asiatic Studies*, says:

> It is not easy to conceive any more interesting subject for historical speculation than the probable effect upon India, and consequently upon the civilization of all Asia, of the English dominion; for though it would be most presumptuous to attempt any prediction as to the nature or bent of India's religious future, yet we may look forward to a wide and rapid transformation in two or three generations, if England's rule only be as durable as it has every appearance of being. It seems possible that the old gods of Hinduism will die in these new elements of intellectual light and air as quickly as a netfull of fishes lifted up out of the water; that the alteration in the religious needs of such an intellectual people as the Hindus, which will have been caused by a change in their circumstances, will make it impossible for them to find in their new world a place for their ancient deities. Their primitive forms will fade and disappear silently, as witchcraft vanished from Europe, and as all such delusions become gradually extinguished.

A momentous result of the improved roads, especially of the railroads, is the means they afford of combating one of the most ancient and formidable calamities of the country—the frightful famines which have devastated its population in spite of its tropical fertility. "A hundred years ago," says Hunter, "famine was regarded here, not as a problem of administration, but as a visitation of God, and utterly beyond the control of man." British intelligence saw it in another light. It

seldom prevails over the whole land. One province may be starving while another has superabundant food; but the intercommunication was difficult for want of roads, and before British rule "the country," says Murdock, "was comparatively without roads. When famines prevail over a wide range, pack-oxen and carts, the old means of communication, become almost useless. The oxen require water and fodder; on the other hand, the railroad train carries its own supply of water and fuel, and conveys as much as a thousand oxen at forty times greater speed. Thus railroads are the best means of mitigating famine. In 1770 Bengal was desolated by this evil. The husbandmen sold their cattle, their implements of agriculture, devoured their seed grain, sold their sons and daughters, till at length no buyer of children could be found; they ate the leaves of the trees and the grass of the field, and in June it was reported that the living were feeding on the dead. Two years after the dearth, Warren Hastings made a progress through Bengal, and he states the loss to have been at least one third of the inhabitants, or probably about ten millions of people. Nineteen years later Lord Cornwallis reported that one third of Bengal was a jungle inhabited only by wild beasts."

As lately as 1877–78 five millions of people perished by famine in southern India; for the railroads were still inadequate to the urgent needs of the country. During the decade ending in 1883, the government spent eighty-seven and one half millions of dollars in "famine relief." But this was only tampering with the evil. The railroads were pushed onward. An American traveler, Mr. Harnaday, says:

> It would be impossible to say too much in praise of the energy and activity displayed by the Madras government in fighting for the lives of the millions under its charge. I do not see how a government could have done more. Month after month a perfect torrent of grain was poured into Madras from seaward, and for months the entire resources of the Madras railway systems were strained to the utmost to carry it into the famine districts fast enough to keep the people from dying by thousands.

The railroads also give industrial occupation to the people; indirectly to millions by facilitating nearly all kinds of business, directly (in 1884) to nearly 200,000 functionaries and workmen, only 4,069 of whom were Europeans.

We have alluded to the irrigation works of the government, so important to a country like India. The ancient rulers constructed tanks, and some other provisions of the kind; the English found many of them in ruins, but have repaired them, and are pushing the improvement throughout the country. Murdock says:

> The Ganges canal is the greatest irrigation work in the world. It takes about half the water of the Ganges, and distributes it between the Ganges and the Jumna. Including its branches, the canal is about seven hundred miles in length. The Bari Doab Canal, from the Ravi, waters the country between that river, the Beas, and the Sutlej. Other similar works are either completed or in progress. With the branches, there are already about thirteen thousand miles of canal. The large rivers of South India formerly rolled great volumes of water uselessly to the ocean. Anicuts, or bunds, have been constructed across the most important, as the Godavari, Kistna, and Cavery, by which extensive tracts of land are irrigated.

These grand provisions, we repeat, are substantial conditions of civilization; they befit the legislation of great rulers, for they form the basis of enduring prosperity. They have prompted the energies and resources of the country generally. India, Murdock assures us, is rich in good iron ore, but without coal it cannot be smelted on a large scale. For a number of years scientific men have been engaged upon its geological survey. Valuable coal fields have been discovered. The East India Railway uses Bengal coal, costing only two rupees per ton, while imported coal costs fifteen rupees. The saving last year alone amounted to upward of thirty lacs.* Cotton is the most valuable Indian export, but being much inferior in quality and price to American cotton the government imported American seed and employed American planters to improve the indigenous cotton. It commenced tea cultivation, the annual exports of which now amount to about three crores† of rupees. It sent an officer to South America to bring the cinchona plant, which yields the best medicine known for fever. Botanical gardens have been established to introduce new plants; museums have been opened to make known Indian products and lead to their purchase. The government has sought, as far as

* A lac is one hundred thousand.

† A crore of rupees is nearly five millions of dollars.

possible, to educate all classes. There are colleges for high education, but schools also for the children of peasants and artisans. Even those who are degraded by the Hindus as outcasts have been considered. Through examinations for the public service an attempt has been made to give offices to the best qualified. "Fifty years ago," says Hunter, "the natives of India were not capable of conducting an administration according to our English ideas of honesty. During centuries of Mogul rule, almost every rural officer was paid by fees, and every official act had to be purchased. . . . It is difficult to discriminate between fees and bribes, and such a system was in itself sufficient to corrupt the whole administration. It has taken two generations to eradicate this old taint from the native official mind. But a generation has now sprung up from whose minds it has been eradicated, and who are therefore fitted to take a much larger share in the administration than the Hindus of fifty years ago." That the young princes of India are now taking a higher view of their responsibilities is one of the most hopeful signs of the times. Institutions, like the Mayo College, Ajmere, for the education of young princes and nobles have been established. "Every improvement," says Murdock, "adopted by any civilized country in the world is sought to be introduced." Bagehot says that the ancients had no conception of progress; they did not so much as reject the idea; they did not even entertain it. This applies peculiarly to India. The Hindus were guided by the Institutes of Manu, the Mohammedans by the Koran, and things remained stationary. While the British government has been exposed to incessant misrepresentation and violent calumny, it is satisfactory that some of India's most distinguished men have acknowledged the advantages it has conferred on the country. Sir Madhava Rao says: "The longer one lives, observes, and thinks, the more deeply does he feel there is no community on the face of the earth which suffers less from political evils, and more from self-inflicted, or self-accepted or self-created, and, therefore, avoidable evils, than the Hindu community."

We have said little thus far respecting education and Christian missions, the most effective of all agencies for Indian regeneration. The truest heroes of this great field are the

Careys, Judsons, and Butlers, and their successors.* The government, in order to be effective, has had to be prudent in its treatment of the religious prejudices of the people. It can only maintain universal religious toleration; and it thereby provides the freest action of Christian propagandism, and effects through missionaries what it could not do by any interference of its own. It has nevertheless dared to arrest some of the worst evils of the old faiths. It has put an end to the burning of widows on the funeral pyres of their husbands. Sanctioned, as this hideous evil was, by religion—the native "civilization"—it was so obviously an atrocity that its interdiction could be attempted, though not without some hazard. The government has delivered India from it, we trust, forever. It is too well known to need description.

The English sway has also extinguished Thuggism, one of the worst features of the "ancient civilization." India had over a hundred robber castes, and assassination was a religious characteristic of their robberies. The Thugs consecrated their crimes by fanatical devotions, and went forth on their depredations in the name of a deity—Kali or Devi—one among the thirty-three crores of Hindu gods—more than one for every man, woman, and child in that country. They reveled in their sanguinary piety for two thousand years. They claimed that their goddess had given their ancestors waistbands with which to strangle first demons and then men. "I am a Thug of the royal records," exclaimed one of them; "I and my fathers have been Thugs for twenty generations." They went over the highways strangling and robbing unsuspecting travelers, without remorse, and as a homage to their favorite deity. "Did you never feel pity for the old men and young children whom you murdered?" asked an English officer, facing one of them. "Never," was his prompt reply. Lord William Bentinck resolved to exterminate this ancient horror. Colonel Sleeman was commissioned to suppress it at any risk; but it was a difficult task; he had to ferret it out, by troops, in its hidden places, but at last succeeded, and established "schools of industry" for the guilty populations and their children.

* Here we may heartily commend to our readers interested in Indian missions Dr. Butler's new book, *From Boston to Bareilly and Back*. An admirable volume both in style and entertaining facts; one of the very best works in missionary literature.

Thuggism is now amenable to the law as murder. But it exists no more as a recognized order.

Such are some of the capital improvements and provisions with which England has blessed India. She has made them not by exactions but with a great reduction of the old charges on the people, especially of taxation on the lands. At least eighty per cent. of the population live by agriculture. Justice Cunningham, one of the Famine Commissioners, says:

> The usual share claimed from the cultivator by native governments was three fifths of the gross produce of the soil, out of which the zemindar was generally allowed a tenth or three fiftieths of the whole, as a reward for his services in collection. The cultivator was thus left with two fifths of his crop for his own maintenance and the expenses of cultivation. But the share of the gross produce now claimed as land revenue has sunk under British rule from more than a half to a proportion ranging between three and eight per cent. (one thirty-third to one twelfth), and though local cesses add a fraction to this percentage, the proportion at present received by government is a mere fraction of that which, under Akbar's famous settlements, was claimed as an unquestionable and immemorial due.

Sir James Caird affirmed, in the London *Times* (1883), that "India is not expensively governed. Compared with other countries, the Indian government expenditure, per head of the population, is one twenty-fourth that of France, one thirteenth that of Italy, one twelfth that of England, and one sixth that of Russia." Without doubt one might record pages of her errors and sins, from Clive to Hastings, and from Hastings to our day, especially of her flagrant opium culture and opium trade with China. We need not hesitate also to acknowledge that self-interest has influenced largely her work; but let us not be inconsiderate on the latter point. Self-regard is not essentially vicious selfishness; it is a universal, an instinctive law of human nature. It is often a positive virtue. The best men approve of the "co-operative" principle in business, and believe it to be the best solution of the great problem of the relation between capital and labor. "Business men know well that to give their clerks and workmen an interest in their business above mere wages is one of the best means of its prosperity. England has worked for herself in India; but has worked also for India, as the best way of working for herself.

She has done more; she has done here a great deal of real philanthropic and Christian work. The public policy of few Christian nations can compare, in beneficence, with hers here in the ends of the world. She has found here a magnificent field of action, full of sublime incentives; such a field as no other nation ever possessed. The local press which she has inaugurated; the presence of numerous Christian missionaries; the vigilant criticism of the home government; and, above all, the public Christian opinion of the home country, have doubtless influenced greatly her Indian administration. All impartial men may heartily acknowledge her beneficence in these circumstances. Enlightened natives do not hesitate to acknowledge it. We have already cited the opinions of some of these. One of them, Ranade, has publicly declared that

> The administration of this country by a handful of men, one for every hundred thousand of population, is a wonderful feat; but even this may find its parallel in the world's history. There is, however, no parallel in history where the representatives of the ruling classes have thought it their duty to strive for the moral and social regeneration of the many millions intrusted to their care.

The present dewan (prime minister) of Travancore has published his opinion of the British rule:

> We live under the mildest, the most enlightened, and the most powerful of modern governments; we enjoy in a high degree the rights of personal security and personal liberty, and the right of private property; the dwelling of the humblest and meanest subject may be said to be now as much his castle as that of the proud Englishman is his, in his native land; no man is any longer, by reason of his wealth or of his rank, so high as to be above the reach of the law, and none, on the other hand, is so poor and insignificant as to be beyond its protection. In less than a short century anarchy and confusion have been replaced by order and good government, as if by the wand of a magician, and the country has started on a career of intellectual, moral, and material advancement of which nobody can foresee the end. Whatever may be the shortcomings of government (and perfection is not vouchsafed to human institutions and human efforts), in the unselfish and sincere desire which animates them to promote the welfare of the millions committed to their care, in the high view they take of their obligations and responsibilities as rulers, in the desire they show at all times to study the feelings and sentiments of the people and carry them along with them in all important measures, and in the spirit of benevolence which underlies all their actions, the British Indian government stand without an equal.

Another influential native (Sindia) says:

"Your prestige fills men's minds to an extent which to men who know how things were carried on scarce fifty years ago seems beyond belief. Within that period, when Mahrattas went from time to time from Gwalior to the Deccan, small bodies were not safe. The departure was an epoch in the year. Their friends parted from them knowing that they had to set out on a journey of danger—perils through Thugs, robbers, spoliation, and black-mail levied on them by the States through which they must pass; these things men not old still speak of. Now all pass to and fro without danger or hinderance—the poorest traveler feels as safe as the richest—for you make as much effort to protect the poor as the rich. I never put myself on the mail-cart, unattended and perhaps unknown, without appreciating the strength of your rule. It is a substance—I leave Gwalior without apprehension, and my absence occasions no distrust.

Such testimonies, uttered to their countrymen by educated and distinguished natives, are worth citing. They could not be uttered before a generally abused and suffering people. They would recoil and be ridiculous, were they not demonstrably attested by manifest facts. We have given, thus far, only a few of these facts, but they suffice to show that with all the faults of the Indian government Christian England is doing a good, a great, a sublime work in this land; a work which pledges a new destiny not only to India but to the whole Oriental world. The "Light of Asia" is the light of India; she has sent forth Buddhism over the East and made it the most extensive religion numerically on the earth; but her modern, her true light is this light of Christian civilization. It has dawned at last upon all her plains and hills; it still gleams dimly amidst the general darkness, but we have good reason to believe that it has risen like the sun, inextinguishable, and to shine brighter and brighter unto the perfect day. We often speak of the future as belonging to America; it belongs also to Asia, as Japan and India manifestly show. John Bright prophetically but soberly asks, "If the English language is being spoken so widely over India, if the English literature is being read and studied, if the science of this country and of western nations becomes the science of the people of India, what must be the result? . . . Caste and idolatry cannot stand against the literature which is now being freely read and studied by multitudes of the most intelligent people of India."

Art. II.—HIGHER CRITICISM.

THE CANONICAL PROPHETS AND THE RELIGION OF ISRAEL.

The term "higher criticism" has become very familiar to all students of the Bible. Its prominence before the public in a great variety of ways—in books and periodical literature, in lectures and even sermons—has been quite remarkable. It has not lacked defenders, advocates, and expositors among the most brilliant scholars of the day. To mention of the most radical only the names of Kuenen, Wellhausen, and Stade, and of the more conservative Delitzsch, Driver, and Briggs, is to affirm that it has no mean supporters. To be sure, the term is not the most pleasant to the ears of those who cling to the Bible as it is, and cherish it as the word of God and as an authentic representation of events as they occurred in the early ages of the Hebrew people. If, however, it represents a criticism which is far too radical for even a liberal conservatism, and has taken positions whose boldness and apparent peril alike startle the average man, it is only what might be expected of it in the excessive enthusiasm and energy of its youthful life. True or false in its opinions, it is yet fruitful of good in the remarkable interest which it has awakened in the critical study of the Old Testament, and in the hope which it holds out that the necessary result of the most minute and fearless examination of the Scriptures will surely lead to a more correct understanding of them.

Higher criticism differs from lower criticism, which is textual criticism, or an examination and correction of the text of the Scriptures. The former has to do with the matter of the Bible, and seeks to settle on a scientific basis all questions as to the genuineness, authenticity, credibility, literary merits, and order of the several books and parts of books. It touches lower criticism in the one direction, and does not hesitate to question its decisions; and in the other direction it looks forward to biblical theology, and dares to say what it ought to be. It avails itself of all the recent discoveries in archæology, philology, history, geography, and ethnology, which have become very abundant, and are constantly growing more so through the increased energy with which scholars are prosecuting their

investigations. With the most painstaking and minute analysis it compares Scripture with Scripture in most searching internal study of the Bible. Discarding mere tradition, however hoary its antiquity, it penetrates the obscurity of the earliest ages of Old Testament history, if possible to bring order out of confusion, and to put the sacred record on a rational and scientific basis. These are the professed aims of higher criticism in its relation to the Old Testament. Whatever may be the results, the aims are worthy of all praise. If any danger is to be apprehended from such a free and thorough examination of the venerable pages of the Bible, it must lie in the false principles involved. The Christian Church has nothing to fear from correct methods and just principles, however severely they may be applied. The results must, in the end, be altogether in the interest of truth.

The positions, however, which the most radical of the advocates of higher criticism have taken are somewhat startling, and quite remove from the Bible the old familiar story of the history of Israel as it has been generally apprehended. We have no longer to do with familiar scenes. At least, if the scenes are familiar, their relations and significance are so changed that they seem strange and unreal. In the matter of the composition of the different books of the Pentateuch, for instance, there has manifestly been a most radical revolution. All that can be relied upon as belonging to the times of Moses is the Book of the Covenant, which is admitted to have contained Exod. xx-xxiii. Deuteronomy is claimed to have come to light no earlier than the times of Manasseh, and probably not until the reign of Josiah, about the middle of the seventh century. The priestly code, or Leviticus, also is assigned to the times of the exile or later. The narrative parts of the Pentateuch, which existed as traditions during the earliest ages of the history of Israel, received shape, we are thus told, about 800 B. C. Even among scholars who accept in the main the results of higher criticism these dates are in some dispute, but they represent the foremost of the above stated views. The Pentateuch, substantially as we now have it, had taken shape and was read to the people by Ezra, 444 B. C.* It is easy to see that such a reconstruction of the order of the development of the legis-

* Wellhausen, *History of Israel*, p. 407.

lation of Israel must make great changes in the facts connected with the history and with their relations and significance.

The accredited results of higher criticism, however, are not more radical and important to the reconstruction of the Pentateuch, and in the view which is given of the rise, progress, and order of the development of the legislation of Israel, than in the changes which it necessitates in the apprehension of the nature of the religion itself. It has been commonly believed, that while the religious truths of the Old Testament gained enlargement and clearness in the unfolding of the national life, its fundamental truths were revealed at or previous to the Mosaic period. Moses was chief in revealing and setting in order those truths of God which should be the guide of the nation through all its history. Israel subsequently neglected, and to a degree lost, those truths. All this higher criticism denies. According to this, the work of Moses was not very great. According to this conception,

> Moses was not regarded as the promulgator, once for all, of a national constitution, but rather as the first to call into activity the national sense for law and justice, and to begin the series of oral decisions which were continued after him by the priests.*

The Law, or Torah, was not a completed code, but "consisted entirely of the oral decisions and instructions of the priests," given from time to time. The principal truth connected with Jehovah was this: that "Jehovah is the God of Israel." Only that moral character which the name received from the Book of the Covenant and the decisions of the priests relieved the utter barrenness of such a fundamental truth, except, perhaps, the distinctive thought connected with all tribal deities—that of power. Such a meager and altogether void conception of Jehovah, as we might well believe, gave free license to the adoption of all the peculiarities of the religious worship of the neighboring nations. Images, altars on high places, human sacrifices, the abominable rites and customs of Baal, Asherah, Astarte, and even the name of Baal as a synonym for Jehovah, were received into the popular religion of the people in both kingdoms, and became the only religion of Israel. This was the syncretism into which the simple

* *Encyclopædia Britannica*, ninth edition, p. 399.

beginnings of Moses developed. The only great principle which stood out against such a development of foreign admixtures was simply this: "Jehovah is the God of Israel." No wonder that such a spiriting away of all the fundamental truths supposed to lie at the basis of the religion of Israel should cause great disturbance to the minds of devout readers of the Bible.

The vital question, then, with which biblical scholars have to do is this: Can all this be true? Has the real history of Israel lain so long unknown or distorted, through the extravagant conceits or at least the misconceptions of later Israel? Is it possible that tradition has been so greatly at fault, and that twenty-two centuries or more have been duped by this conscious or unconscious perversion of history? This is the question. It might seem to be easy to answer this question from the spirit of honesty and frankness which pervades the Pentateuch, from its unity, and from the incidental references in it which usually count so much as undesigned evidence in favor of the truth. The unhappy fact is, that these are the very weapons which are used against the Pentateuch. Again, it might be thought that the history in Samuel and the Kings, as well as that of the Chronicles, might be relied upon to settle the difficulty. Here we are again at fault. The history of Samuel and the Kings, we are told, was at best but a compilation from more or less traditional sources. It was written, also, after the Deuteronomy was discovered; and the author was, consequently, more or less under the influence of the presuppositions which were contained in the Deuteronomy; and by so much he must be regarded as unreliable for critical purposes. The same is true of the Chronicles, which were written after the Levitical code was elaborated, and in a similar manner were affected by the contents of Leviticus.* The Pentateuch is greatly at a disadvantage, unless it is possible to prove, as we think it is, that the evidence from the historical books is of more value than is allowed to them by the most radical of the supporters of higher criticism.

There are a number of ways of testing this question. The one proposed here is an examination of the canonical prophets, particularly those of the eighth century B. C.: Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Micah, and perhaps Joel. Higher criticism claims for

* Kuenen's *National Religions and Universal Religions*, p. 78.

them that they were the real authors of the religion of Israel as it is now conceived. To these prophets, therefore, we may now look, for they occupy a place in the history of Israel which renders them particularly valuable as witnesses in this matter. They began their work while both the northern and the southern kingdoms were yet in their strength, and when reliable traditions of the past were within easy reach. They have also left in writing enough of what they proclaimed to the people to reveal to us the convictions which they entertained. So great were these prophets themselves, ranking with the Wiclifs, the Luthers, and the Wesleys of these later ages, that they command attention and inspire confidence. The essential relation which they held to the religious life of Israel—being exponents of its truths and requirements in ages which were characterized by the triumphs of idolatry and irreligion—gives to them personally the greater authority, and imparts to their utterances the greater weight. On the whole, it may be said that they furnish us with a most reliable medium through which to look at the religion of Israel as it really was, and as it was received from the ages which preceded them.

Whatever may be proved from such an examination of the canonical prophets as this, it is not the aim of this paper to prove that the Pentateuch, as we now have it, existed previously to the times of these prophets. It may be a fair inference, however, so far as the prophets themselves are concerned. At least, on the supposition of the existence of the Pentateuch at that date as the ancient possession of Israel, the prophets present no difficulties, but, on the contrary, receive a much better explanation. There will, however, be much more than a simple inference that a ritual, a legislative code, and fundamental truths with reference to the nature of Jehovah and his claims upon his people, were in existence previous to the times of these prophets, and formed the basis of all their teachings and exhortations; also that these elements of the religion of Israel had been transmitted from the times of Moses, and had been preserved by the pious and God-fearing in the nation. That these were identical with the Pentateuch can only be proved by other lines of argument. All that is here intended to be shown is, that the prophets imply the ancient existence of what is found substantially in the Pentateuch.

Was there a consciousness among the prophets, especially those of the eighth century B. C., of a syncretism in religion as the regular and established religion of Israel? Do the prophets manifest no consciousness of a difference between the mixed and idolatrous worship which prevailed so generally both in the northern and the southern kingdoms, and the worship which, in spirit and form, was alone acceptable to Jehovah? The people, we are told, "were unable to distinguish sharply between the local worship of Jehovah and the worship of the Canaanite Baalim. The god of the local sanctuary was adored as Jehovah, but a local Jehovah was practically a local Baal. The people, whose worship of Jehovah was hardly to be distinguished from a gross polytheism, could not be adverse to worship other gods side by side with the national deity." * We affirm, on the contrary, that in the writings of the prophets there is no apparent consciousness of such a syncretism existing for ages previous to their times, and never seriously opposed, from which it was their peculiar mission to rescue the people. This is remarkable, if true; for, if such a syncretistic religious life had been the only recognized religious life of Israel, it is altogether beyond belief that the prophets should not have declared, or at least intimated, it. They would naturally have done this in making a way for their new doctrines, which could hardly have been received under the circumstances unless it had been clearly shown that the syncretism had done its work, and the distinctive religion of Jehovah was now to be exclusively established. It is safe to say, however, that no such treatment of the old in introducing the new can be found described or intimated in the writings of the prophets; but how could they have reasonably hoped to succeed without making some such effort in the interest of their new and more spiritual doctrines? It is impossible that the people, with so little knowledge of Jehovah, and with such long-continued relations to their mixed worship, could have paid any attention to them.

It is equally strange, on the assumption of a syncretism unquestioned by any previous authority, that these prophets themselves, incidentally or directly, have not evinced some consciousness of the high vocation to which they had been called by Jehovah in the work of displacing the old faith by one en-

* Professor W. Robertson Smith's *Old Testament in the Jewish Church.*

tirely new in spirit and in letter. The characters of originator and reformer are so entirely distinct, and the exhibition of these different characters by each is so necessary, that it is a wonder that the prophets do not put forth the claim and exhibit the characteristics, if, as is affirmed, they were actually originators of the real religion of Jehovah. Moses, Christ, Buddha, Confucius, and Mohammed were originators of great religious systems, and have been so regarded by posterity. The prophets, however, make no such claims, give no indications of possessing such a character, and have never been so regarded by posterity. Tradition has preserved no such conception of their work or position. They stand in spirit and methods with Wiclif and Luther and Wesley, for whose use truths had already been prepared, and whose work it was only to vitalize and re-establish those truths. To their own thought, so far as their writings reveal any thing, they begin nothing, but they are merely the agents for carrying forward what had already and long before been begun.

Indeed, the whole manner of the prophets is such that they do not preach new doctrines. They do not endeavor to prove why people should comply with the religious and moral precepts; they rather presuppose that the sins of the people are transgressions against old and well-known laws and institutions. They live and have their being in the covenant relations, and accuse the people of unfaithfulness to this covenant.*

It is remarkable, also, on the supposition of a syncretism, that the prophets should have shown such a definite and bitter hatred toward the worship on high places, at Dan and Beth el, and other places. If the religion of Israel had been from the beginning simply a development, and if it had begun its career with such a wretchedly meager basis upon which to build a great national religion as the announcement that "Jehovah is the God of Israel," and possessing only the few moral precepts, in themselves of the most general character, to be found in the Book of the Covenant, such a syncretism was to have been expected, and was altogether natural and necessary. It is difficult to see how it could have been regarded as abnormal or extremely censurable. What fault could have been found with it, in all justice, except in its gross exaggerations? Least of all, what occasion was there for the fierce and indignant de-

* C. J. Bredenkamp, quoted in the *Old Testament Student*, November, 1884.

nunciations of the prophets and the threatened punishments of Jehovah? Yet Hosea exclaims: "He hath cast off thy calf, O Samaria; mine anger is kindled against them: how long will it be ere they attain to innocency? For from Israel is even this; the workman made it, and it is no god: yea, the calf of Samaria shall be broken in pieces. For they sow the wind, and they shall reap the whirlwind." * Amos scornfully and sarcastically exhorts: "Come to Beth-el, and transgress; to Gilgal, and multiply transgression; and bring your sacrifices every morning, and your tithes every three days." † The prophet then announces that for such transgression they have already suffered, and will suffer more in the future, unless they forsake it. Isaiah and Micah are equally severe. These quotations represent the general spirit which found expression constantly in the most indignant remonstrances and in threats of the severest punishment. On the suppositions of higher criticism, such a sudden announcement of new truths, with such an intense hatred of the old, and such haste in securing the adoption of the new on the penalty of the most terrible and destroying punishments from Jehovah, seem altogether unintelligible. If it is affirmed that there had been a gradual growth in the nation of doctrines and precepts similar to those of the prophets, but in no code recognized as authoritative, then not only are the prophets deprived of their exalted honor, but the further necessity arises of explaining the rise of such doctrines in the midst of a universal devotion to a syncretism to which there had never been a rival. Elijah is denied any part in such a work, since he was really a prophet of the syncretism.‡ Who else could have done it better? It is hardly supposable that the priests, generally devoted to the mixed worship as they were, could have added any thing to the distinctive faith of Jehovah. It is impossible to discover any one who could have done it under the conditions supposed. It is necessary to believe that it was not done; but, if it was not, the course of the prophets was inconsistent and unreasonable in the extreme.

The attempt, if made, must have proved inadequate. What were those prophets, with only their own characters and their

* Hosea viii, 5–7, Revised Version. † Amos iv, 4, Revised Version.

‡ *History of Israel*, p. 462.

unknown truths to recommend them, against an entire nation which was given, soul and body, to the service and support of a syncretism which they fully believed was a religion acceptable to Jehovah? On the contrary, the prophets betray a conscious dependence upon a faith so well known that it was not necessary for them to explain it. They had behind them strong supports which had been long familiar to the people, and which had inspired them with fearless zeal and tireless energy. They manifestly did not depend upon themselves. They were to their own consciousness, so far as that consciousness appears in their writings, only reformers, the substance of whose teachings had long been in the possession of the nation. They were called forth from their seclusion to develop in the national consciousness a clear conviction of truths which that nation had received from the remote past.

> For all the great spirits of old Israel regarded themselves not as beginners, but as restorers of a condition of life seen in its most perfect form at the commencement of the national existence. And it must not, withal, be forgotten that the best representatives of the nation were really compelled by their own consciousness and the recollection of the people solely to dedicate themselves to the list of reformers, notwithstanding the warmth of their zeal and the energy of their own wills.*

Such a consciousness would be utterly inconsistent with the absence of any definite revelation of the will of Jehovah, any prescribed course of conduct or mode of worship recognized as peculiar to Jehovah alone, and the only authorized expression of his will. It harmonizes perfectly with the existence of an ancient order of things which had to a very large extent been sadly neglected.

We are not confined, however, to the consciousness of the prophets. It may be affirmed that they plainly exhibit a knowledge of a Law which represented the religion of Jehovah, and distinguished it from the foreign religious customs which had been grafted into the religion of Israel. That these references in the prophets do not amount to a demonstration that the Pentateuch was in existence may be readily admitted. On the supposition that it did actually exist at the time, it is possible to account for the omission of any formal or full reference to it. As teachers, commissioned to arouse the conscience of the people and

* Konig's *Religious History of Israel*, p. 25.

vitalize truths with which that people were familiar but which had been grossly neglected by them, it was perfectly natural and consistent that they should have appealed to the Law only in the most general terms. They could have done this, however, only on the assumption that the authority in whose name they spoke was well known, and to a degree revered. Then, too, in writings which are so meager as those which have been left us by the prophets, it could hardly be expected that there should be found full statements with reference to a national code, even though it existed in the full form of the Pentateuch.

Respecting these references in the prophets to the Law, they tell us that Israel had a Law or Torah from the earliest times. It was Mosaic, also, but hardly more than to this extent: that Moses gave the first of those oral decisions and instructions which were continued by the priests.* There was, it is said, nothing written, and no collection of these deliverances made, which constituted in their unity the Torah of Israel. In accordance with this explanation, the Book of the Covenant and these scattering decisions and instructions constituted all the Law to which Israel could lay claim previous to the times of the prophets, and for some time after the work of the oldest of the prophets. Deuteronomy, they say, was not in existence, and did not come into existence until a century or more after the times of Amos. As it was then regarded as something entirely new, when it was made known to Josiah, it is not to be supposed that the precepts and requirements of which it was composed, as detached and fragmentary bits of priestly decision and instruction, could have had much weight in the times of the prophets Amos, Hosea, and Isaiah. Such laws would have furnished but a poor and unsubstantial support for the lonely prophets, called upon, as they were, to rebuke the entire nation for prolonged and defiant disregard of all the principles of right and justice and obedience which belonged to the Law of Jehovah.

It is possible to show that the prophets require very much more than this to account for their references to a standing and ancient Law or Torah of Jehovah. Their indignant protests and severe rebukes reach far beyond the authority of such a

* *Encyclopædia Britannica*, ninth edition, p. 399; Wellhausen.

law as is allowed by radical critics to have existed from Mosaic times. Of course, it may be answered that a prophet might have been expected to go beyond the mere letter of the Law in a free representation of the will of Jehovah revealed in him in his prophetic character and office; but we should even then expect some attempt by argument to make way for the reception of purely individual utterances which must have sounded strange to the ears of the people as a whole. Nothing of the kind, however, appears, while the prophets seem ever to be speaking from a law which not only they receive, but which is not utterly unknown to a portion, at least, of the people. Hosea incidentally verifies this, and suggests one or two important facts. In chap. viii, 12, we read: "Though I write for him my law in ten thousand *precepts*, they are counted as a strange thing." Some entirely competent authorities, as Prof. Green of Princeton, render it as a matter of fact pertaining to a past revelation of the will of Jehovah: "I write to him the ten thousand precepts of my law; they have been counted as a strange thing." If the latter translation is to be received as the correct one—and it is certainly grammatically correct—then we are to understand the prophet to refer to a large number of precepts, ten thousand or more, which had been written for the instruction of Israel, here called Ephraim. Smend, as quoted by Professor Green, says of the passage:

> The words of Hosea prove that the Ephraimites had many written laws in the eighth century, which, whether in one or more books, although they were neglected by a large part of the people, were yet known to all, and, in the judgment of the prophet, demanded the obedience of all, since they were of divine obligation, as much so as if written by Jehovah himself.*

If the hypothetical rendering is accepted, there is at least the assumption that there were laws written, and that these were numerous and of binding obligation. It is as much as though the prophet had said, "I have already proclaimed to you the law of Jehovah; and yet you are so stubborn, that if Jehovah should give an unlimited number in addition, it would make no impression upon you." It is a significant fact, also, that while the prophets know of many precepts they know of only one Law. They never use the plural of the noun. It is one law,

* Smend, quoted by Professor Green in *Moses and the Prophets*, p. 115.

one collection of precepts. The absence of the article, which might perhaps be expected here, gives force to this unity. It is a code too well known and prominent to even need the article. This invariable unity in the prophetical conception of the Law of Israel is a suggestive fact. Why should the prophets have followed so uniformly the practice of using the singular number, if the precepts upon which they rested for their authority either had existed from the beginning in detached fragments, or were being revealed by them in this same fragmentary manner? There seems to have been no sufficient reason. It would have been quite unnatural. On the supposition of a body of precepts and regulations which had been a long time known to the nation as the Law, it would have been a perfectly consistent use of the word. Malachi employs it (iv, 4) in this way when, according to the most radical claims, he had the entire Torah, as it is now known, in his hands.

That this law was no new thought with the prophets is certainly implied in Hos. xi, 1–3: "When Israel was a child, then I loved him, and called my son out of Egypt." Even then, however, Israel "sacrificed unto the Baalim, and burned incense to graven images." Also, "by a prophet the Lord brought Israel up out of Egypt, and by a prophet was he preserved." (xii, 13.) The context shows that the prophets conceived of the Law as a guide and standard from the beginning, and of this they remind the people as a ground of repentance. They therefore make the Law of the most vital importance to the permanent welfare of Israel. It is more than independent decisions given from time to time by the acting priest—more than the brief Book of the Covenant—more than the traditions which had been accumulating through the centuries—more than the authority of the individual utterances of the prophets themselves. No such conceptions of the Law with which Jehovah was endeavoring to train up his people will answer the demands of the language of the prophets. On the contrary, the one Law, so definite and large and well-known and ancient that it could afford a proper basis for a national life, would alone justify the terrible punishments denounced against Israel for their violation of the Law. The language of Amos would then be natural, "They have rejected the law of the Lord, and have not kept his statutes. (Amos ii, 4.) Hosea could then in justice say, "Seeing that

thou hast forgotten the law of God, I also will forget thy children." (Hos. iv, 6.) If this law had been known and preserved there would have been occasion for the indignant spirit and words of the prophets, as the mouth-pieces of Jehovah. The Law would then seem to have been something so fundamental to the integrity of the nation, as Jehovah's peculiar people, that its rejection would have been substantially the rejection of Jehovah himself.

These intimations of a legal code receive re-enforcement from the indications of a belief in a covenant to be found in the writings of the older prophets. If they believed in such a covenant, existing between Jehovah and his people from the earliest period of the national life, it is clear that they must have believed as well in a legal code, which expressed the part which Israel was expected to perform in the covenant. Wellhausen, therefore, very properly denies the existence of any such relation in the earliest times between Israel and Jehovah. "Nor did the theocracy exist from the times of Moses," he says, "in the form of a covenant, though that was afterward a favorite mode of regarding it." * He could hardly have admitted any thing more, and at the same time have limited the precepts of Moses to the insignificant proportions which he assigns to them. A covenant carries with it the idea of obligations. These obligations must necessarily be regulated by particular precepts and laws. These precepts and laws would constitute the body of laws according to which the parties involved might fulfill the contract. The word BERITH, uniformly translated covenant, may certainly be found with that sense in Hosea and Amos, although Wellhausen affirms that one of the most important passages relied upon to confirm such a statement (Hos. viii, 1) was probably interpolated. There is, however, no good reason for making such a supposition, except that which arises from the demands of a theory which must be maintained. The thing itself is set forth carefully and solemnly in the figure of a marriage covenant, in which Hosea allegorically or actually represented in his own person the relation between Jehovah and his people from the very first manifestations of a distinctive national life. The interpretation of the first two chapters of the book of Hosea, so far as the prophet

* *History of Israel*, p. 417.

is concerned, makes no difference in respect to the aim of the prophet. The rest of the book is to be understood in the light of the introductory scene in these two chapters. The relation which is there set forth is that of a marriage covenant whose conditions had been shamelessly violated. The conduct of Israel which is condemned covered the entire period from the time when Jehovah had called Israel out of Egypt. (Hos. xi, 1; xii, 9–13; xiii, 4) Jehovah's love and care, his interference in their behalf by means of a prophet who was no other than Moses, and the ready response of the people themselves, were the appropriate signs of such a covenant relation. The existence of such a covenant between Jehovah and his people appears in Amos ii, 2, and Isaiah i, 2, and underlies all the exhortations of the prophets. Some peculiar and special right they assume for Jehovah, arising out of an accepted relation on the part of the representatives of the people. If it was not a covenant, as these prophets seem to affirm, what was the basis of such an obligation whose violation inevitably subjected the people to the most terrible punishments? Wellhausen answers: "According to the popular faith, it rested upon the fact that Jehovah was worshiped in Israel and not among the heathen; that in Israel were his altars and his dwelling. His *cultus* was the bond between him and the nation." Such an explanation, however, seems entirely inadequate to account for the peculiar expressions and assumptions of the prophets, especially when it is remembered just how much Jehovah was worshiped as the God of Israel in the pretended syncretism. The prophets evidently felt that there was something more than this in the relation of Jehovah to his people.

Do the prophets themselves prove that there could have been no priestly code previous to their times? The claim is made that the older prophets knew nothing of any such code, and in their spirit and direct teachings plainly declare that Jehovah required no sacrifices; that there were none certainly that were Mosaic in their origin. It is maintained that the prophets were called to make known a knowledge of the moral and spiritual character and requirements of Jehovah, and therefore betray an utter indifference, if not a positive hostility, to all ritual service, as foreign to the earliest and most essential nature of the religion of Israel. There can be no doubt that

the prophets were sent to enlighten the people on the moral side of their religious life, and to make clear the fact that clean hands and a pure heart were the necessary conditions of acceptable service to Jehovah. Inasmuch as they were sent to give such emphasis to moral character and spiritual service, they marked a decided advance in the religious life of the nation. Were they, however, hostile to sacrifices in themselves considered? It is thought to be clearly shown that they were hostile from such passages as the following: "To what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices unto me, saith the Lord: I am full of the burnt offerings of rams, and the fat of fed beasts; and I delight not in the blood of bullocks, or of lambs, or of he-goats." (Isa. i, 11.) "I hate, I despise, your feasts, and I will take no delight in your solemn assemblies." (Amos v, 21.) "He hath showed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?" (Mic. vi, 8.) These and similar passages have usually been supposed to teach simply the truth which the prophets appreciated to such a pre-eminent degree—that a heartless and immoral external service is absolutely of no value in the eyes of Jehovah. Terms as strong as those of the prophets might have been used without necessarily implying that no external service whatever could have been acceptable to Jehovah. In connection with the passage quoted from Isaiah, prayer is quite as positively rejected as are the various ritual services mentioned. The very clear reason for such a rejection was, that the people were in no fit condition to offer prayer. The remedy which was at once prescribed for such unfitness might just as well have included the preparation to offer external service, and probably did so. There are numerous indications that the prophets were not hostile to a proper ritual service. Hosea (vi, 6) confirms this when he says, "I desire mercy and not sacrifice; and the knowledge of God MORE than burnt offerings." Why more than burnt offerings, unless burnt offerings in some form would have been acceptable? Again, in Hosea (ii, 11), it is threatened as a punishment that the time would come when feasts, new moons, sabbaths, and solemn assemblies would cease, and the people would mourn for them, because in a strange land, whither they would be carried captive, they could not participate in them.

The feast of tabernacles is plainly intended, in xii, 9, and, according to any theory, it must be acknowledged to have had appropriate ritual services. Amos (viii, 4) recognizes these solemn occasions by showing how the people pervert them for purposes of personal gain: "Hear this, O ye that would swallow up the needy, and cause the poor of the land to fail, saying, when will the new moon be gone, that we may sell corn? and the sabbath, that we may set forth wheat?" That these intimations of sacrifices are incidental is no more than ought to be expected, where it was no part of the prophetic work to define or confirm a ritual.

There are, however, two passages, the one in Amos and the other in Jeremiah, which are claimed unequivocally to deny any priestly code, of whatever dimensions, as a legitimate part of the service of Jehovah, at any time in the nation's history. Amos v, 25–27, as it is translated in the Revised Version, which is best supported, is this: "Did ye bring unto me sacrifices and offerings in the wilderness forty years, O house of Israel? Yea, ye have borne Sicuth your king and Chiun your images, the star of your god, which ye made to yourselves. Therefore will I cause you to go into captivity," etc. The fact was, as the prophet understood it, that Israel had offered no proper sacrifices in the wilderness. They had even then given themselves up to idolatry to such an extent that they vitiated whatever they might have rendered of the authorized service, and practically offered no service. They had continued to do the same thing up to the times of the prophets. "Therefore will I cause you to go into captivity," etc. This explanation is supported by eminent scholars. Jer. vii, 21–26, involves great difficulties. Verse 22 reads: "For I spake not unto your fathers, nor commanded them in the day that I brought them out of the land of Egypt, concerning burnt offerings or sacrifices." This is a plain denial on its face of any such thing as sacrifices in the Mosaic period. It is inconceivable, however, if the theory of the origin of Deuteronomy is correct, that Jeremiah, who must have been familiar with the fact of the discovery of the book of Deuteronomy, and, as some think, had much to do with its existence, should have uttered any such declaration as this. It is equally inconceivable that, if this was the meaning of Jeremiah, later prophets and the

author of other portions of the Pentateuch should have flown so directly in the face of one of the most widely read of all the prophets, and taught what he absolutely denied. Such considerations lead to the belief that Jeremiah could not have intended absolutely to deny that sacrifices were known in the wilderness, and were a legitimate part of the proper service of Jehovah. It involves quite as little difficulty, and is more in harmony with the deliverances of the prophets, to suppose that Jeremiah, in his contempt for the abominable idolatry which he saw about him, and to which the people had always inclined, should have denied that there had ever been any genuine offerings in the name of Jehovah, or that Jehovah had ever authorized any such service. Bredenkamp renders "concerning" "on account of" or "for the sake of." The passage would then mean: "For I spake not unto your fathers for the sake of burnt offerings and sacrifices in themselves considered. I had higher purposes." Whether this may be a correct rendering or not, it is quite certain that the passage does not furnish positive evidence against sacrifices as a part of the regular service of Jehovah. To the prophets there was also one place where sacrifices ought to be offered, and they manifest no disposition to palliate the offense of offering sacrifices elsewhere. Samaria and Beth-el and the high places are an abomination. The one altar at Jerusalem, as little as it might be held in proper reverence, was the place where men ought to offer sacrifices and burn incense to Jehovah. It is not too much to conclude that the prophets recognized a ritual service which was peculiar and agreeable to Jehovah, although it was their work to arouse the conscience of the nation to the moral side of religion. It is not an unwarrantable conclusion that the prophets were aware of a Torah, defined and authorized and written, as a legitimate part of the service of Jehovah.

Higher criticism attributes to the prophets the great work of revealing to Israel the real character of Jehovah. It only allows to Moses the wisdom of adopting as the fundamental principle of the new national life, "Jehovah is the God of Israel." Very little more, except such ethical teachings as were to be found in the Book of the Covenant and in the decisions of the priests, belonged to the name of Jehovah. One thing Israel knew well: that as Baal was the god of the Pheni-

cians, and Chemosh was the god of Moab, so Jehovah was the God of Israel. The power of Jehovah, as the national deity, was of course recognized, but only as the Moabites recognized the same element of strength in their god. It was the one attribute in all local deities in which every nation implicitly believed. Little more did Israel know; certainly not that Jehovah was a God of infinite holiness, and the Creator and Ruler of the universe. On the contrary, the prophets have been found to have entertained all those conceptions of Jehovah's peculiar essence and attributes which are so clearly revealed in the Pentateuch. Kuenen, in "The Religion of Israel," in the chapter on the religious condition of Israel in the eighth century, presents the views of the prophets with clearness, and credits them with the great work of giving to Israel the real character of Jehovah. He readily admits that the prophets taught that Jehovah was the Creator and Supreme Ruler of heaven and earth, of nature and mankind; that his nature was spiritual, and the service which he required of men was not merely the offering of sacrifices, but the rendering unto him of a heart of sincerity and truth; that he was holy and required holiness of every one who approached him in worship; that he was a universal deity, and was local only in that he had chosen Israel from all the nations of the earth to be his peculiar people. He was therefore not to be confounded with any of the gods of the neighboring nations, as though they were on an equality with him. Accordingly the name of Jehovah, to the conception of the prophets, stood for a future for Israel of spiritual prosperity and achievement. This was the secret of the bitter hostility of the prophets to the names of heathen deities, and to their corrupt and idolatrous forms of worship. All this may be conceded to the prophets, and much more might be granted than this meager description of their teachings shows, as their conception of Jehovah and the nature of his religion. It is a much more important question whether all this was really new with them.

An appeal to tradition, if we concede that the historical books contain traditions, very clearly reveals the fact that these ideas regarding Jehovah had been long cherished by the nation. This is too obvious, to any one familiar with the historical books, to require argument. Such a conception of the nature

and character of Jehovah, and of the worship which he desired, was apparently the occasion for the settled abhorrence of the sin and idolatry of the people which pervades both books of Samuel and of Kings. Wellhausen, however, accounts for this spirit in the fact that these histories were written up finally after the discovery of the Deuteronomy, and that the compilers, under its influence, attribute these great truths to those earlier times and denounce the people for their wickedness. They "partook of the spirit of the age in which they lived, and, forgetful or ignorant of the real past, did an injustice to those nations." Therefore, "we must not allow the Israelitish historians to shake the conclusions to which our investigations have led us."* This is certainly an easy way out of the difficulty, but the explanation is entirely inadequate. It is altogether incredible that even traditions could have been so greatly at fault. It is to assume such stupidity or knavery, on the part of compilers, as find no parallel in the records of any other nation. It is a singular fact that none of the later prophets, in the interest of the brotherhood and truth, attempt to set right what they must have known to be grossly wrong. Their spirit and their utterances, however, are in the most perfect harmony with these traditions, which are the only traditions of the nation.

While there is the greatest reluctance on the part of the most radical to acknowledge any particular critical value in the historical books, there is a very noticeable disposition to use every fact and incident, so far as possible, in the interest of adopted thories. This is the case with reference to Israel's conception of Jehovah. "It is very possible, and even probable," may sometimes be a sound argument, but generally, it must be confessed, it is of very little value. Then, too, the ease with which troublesome texts are disposed of is something astonishing. The conclusion that images were a legitimate part of the worship and representation of Jehovah—from the golden calf which was made at Horeb; from the teraphim which were possessed in a very few instances and employed as household gods; from the ephod which, on no authority whatever, is said to have had an image representing Jehovah, perhaps a bull, attached to it, or to have been itself an image;† from the calves

* *National Religions and Universal Religions*, p. 80. † *Ibid*, p. 87.

adopted by the northern kingdom as symbols of Jehovah; from the prevalence of images in both kingdoms—seems to be an exaggeration of the value of evidence. This is especially true when such practices are uniformly denounced as a violation of some fundamental law of the religion of Jehovah. To infer also, and to affirm with dogmatic positiveness, the legitimacy of human sacrifices from the story of Abraham's willingness to offer up Isaac, or from Jephthah's devotion of his daughter, or from the practice of causing children to pass through the fire, would seem to be entirely unwarrantable in view of what is said in all such cases. Such assumptions can only be held because the presuppositions of a theory make them necessary. These facts and inferences form to a very large extent the ground for denying such a character to Jehovah as the prophets give to him.

From the fact that the prophets entertained such exalted views of the character of Jehovah, and from their very evident disposition to assume that they were declaring nothing which had not long before been known and accepted in Israel, it is difficult to believe that they held any conceptions of Jehovah different from those which had been held from the beginning. They may have apprehended them more clearly and stated them more forcibly, but that they introduced new truths, fundamental to the very life of religion, naturally requires such conditions as are known not to have existed.

The view of the prophets in their relation to the religion of Israel which seems most consistent with all the facts is, that which sees in them reformers sent by Jehovah to recall the people to a devotion to his ancient requirements. They spoke not only with the authority of the living Voice within them, but also with the authority of laws and customs and truths which had been for generations in the possession of the nation. How much of the Pentateuch they may have had may be left to a sober criticism to say, but that they had all that can make the Pentateuch a part of Scripture, to be received, believed and revered, cannot be denied from the writings of the prophets. They evidently did not build upon myths and fables. With Jehovah's truth behind them and his Spirit within them, they were prepared to command a hearing in the nation.

Art. III.—ORIGIN OF PRESIDING ELDERS.

In a former article we traced the origin of the Methodist Episcopal Church to the close of the General Conference of 1784–85, the so-called "Christmas Conference." The Church which that Conference constituted had but a slender organization. We propose in the present paper to show how the new Church secured a more perfect ecclesiastical polity. The history of the Church's advance in the matter of ecclesiastical adjustment and equipment will be shown in a great degree by a careful review of the rise and progress of the presiding eldership.

When the Christmas Conference had completed its work the presiding eldership had no existence in Methodism, though the germ of the office was found in some of its provisions. The ordination of the preachers and the celebration of the sacraments were the objects which Mr. Wesley contemplated in the embassy of Dr. Coke to America. Eleven preachers received ordination as elders, they having first been ordained deacons at that Conference. Two other preachers, namely, Henry Willis and Beverly Allen, were elected by the Conference to the order of elders, but were not present. Shortly after the Conference adjourned Mr. Willis was ordained by Asbury, and at the Conference in North Carolina, in April, 1785, Mr. Allen received ordination. Of these thirteen elders two were sent as missionaries to Nova Scotia, namely, Freeborn Garrettson and James O. Cromwell; and one, Jeremiah Lambert, was sent as a missionary to the island of Antigua. Upon the ten elders who remained in the United States devolved the work, in connection with the two superintendents, of giving the Lord's Supper to the members of the new Church. In their Notes on the Discipline, which by direction of the General Conference of 1796 Coke and Asbury prepared, those first bishops said that "when Mr. Wesley drew up a plan of government for our Church in America he desired that no more elders should be ordained in the first instance than were absolutely necessary, and that the work on the continent should be divided between them in respect to the duties of their office."

But as these newly ordained elders traveled abroad over

the land in the fulfillment of their office, Bishop Asbury saw that he could profitably utilize their assistance in the work of the superintendency. Accordingly, in their Notes on the Discipline, Coke and Asbury say:

> Bishop Asbury and the District Conferences* afterward found that this order of men was so necessary that they agreed to enlarge the number and give them the name by which they are at present called.

It thus appears that the presiding eldership grew out of the method which Mr. Wesley designed, and which the Christmas Conference adopted, of sending forth men invested with full ministerial powers through the land, each of whom was to devote himself to a given number of circuits, for the purpose of celebrating the holy sacraments. So, as in their annotations, the first bishops say, "In the year 1784 the presiding eldership did in *fact*, though not in *name*, commence." The General Conference of that year did not, however, constitute the office, nor, so far as appears, was it then thought of in the form which it soon after assumed, by the authority of Mr. Asbury and of the "District Conferences."

When, nearly eight years after the Christmas Conference, the first General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church assembled in Baltimore on the first day of November, 1792, the presiding eldership had taken quite definite shape under Asbury's episcopal hand, and with such other authorization as the District, or, as we would now say, the Annual, Conferences gave. There was, however, no formally constituted legislative body or power in the Church during that interregnum of eight years. The Christmas Conference adjourned without providing any plan for future legislation further than that of declaring submission to Mr. Wesley's control. Therefore, though at the convocation of the General Conference of 1792 this particular office existed, it was not by unchallenged authorization. One of the early writers of our Church has said: "No period of the same duration in the history of any Church exhibits such a jumble of powers as ours did from 1784 to 1792. Since the latter date the departments and powers began to be defined." Speaking of the General Conference of 1792 in its relation to

* "District Conferences" here mean the same thing as the phrase "Annual Conferences," which is of later origin.

the office of presiding elder, the first historian of the Church, Jesse Lee, says:

> Such an order of elders had never been regularly established before. They had been appointed by the bishop for several years; but it was a doubt in the minds of the preachers whether such power belonged to him. The General Conference now determined that there should be presiding elders, and that they should be chosen, stationed, and changed by the bishop.*

In respect to the authorization of the office by the first General Conference of the Church, that of 1792, Coke and Asbury, in their Notes on the Discipline, say:

> In 1792 the General Conference, conscious of the necessity of having such an office among us, not only confirmed every thing that Bishop Asbury and the District Conferences had done, but also drew up or agreed to the present section for the explanation of the nature and duties of the office. The Conference clearly saw that the bishops wanted assistants; that it was impossible for one or two bishops so to superintend the vast work on this continent as to keep every thing in order in the intervals of the Conference without other official men to act under them and assist them.

The title of "presiding elder" first appears in the Discipline in the year 1789. In the Discipline of that year there is no account given of the authorization or nature of the office, yet the recognition of its existence appears in parentheses in the following passage in the Discipline of 1789, namely:

> The bishop has obtained liberty by the suffrages of the Conference, to ordain local preachers to the office of deacons, providing they obtain a testimonial from the society to which they belong, and from the stewards of the circuit, signed by three traveling preachers, three deacons, and three elders (one of them being a presiding elder).†

In the same year (1789) that the title of the office first appears in the Discipline it also appears in the "appointments" as printed in the Minutes. It seems certain that until that year the office was not recognized in any official documents under its present title. Furthermore, after that year the prefix "presiding" was omitted in the appointments in the Minutes, and did not appear again until subsequently to the General Con-

* Lee's *History of the Methodists*, p. 183.

† Discipline. Fifth edition. New York, 1789, p. 5. There is no copy of the Discipline earlier than this known to be extant except that of 1784.

ference of 1792. The title, however, was continued in the Discipline in the passage quoted above down to the General Conference of that year, for it is found in the seventh edition of the Discipline printed in 1791. Why the title presiding elder should have been inserted in the printed "appointments" in the Minutes in the year 1789 and afterward omitted until after the General Conference of 1792 we cannot tell, unless it is explained by the statement of Jesse Lee already quoted; namely, that the preachers doubted whether the power to appoint presiding elders belonged to the bishop.

The Journal of the General Conference of 1792, if ever there was one, is unfortunately lost, but the Discipline of that year gives us information concerning the legislation which was then accomplished respecting the office of presiding elder. The Conference limited the tenure of the office to four years, although there was no other limitation of time to the appointments of the preachers until nearly twelve years subsequently. The Conference gave the power of appointing presiding elders to the bishop. It also defined the duties of the office. These were eight in number: 1. To travel through his district. 2. To take charge of all the traveling and local preachers and exhorters in his district in the absence of the bishop. 3. In the intervals of the Conferences to change, receive, or suspend preachers in his district in the bishop's absence. 4. To preside in Conference in the absence of the bishop. 5. To be present at all the quarterly meetings if practicable, and to call together the traveling and local preachers, stewards, class-leaders, and exhorters; that is to say, hold Quarterly Conferences. 6. To oversee the spiritual and temporal interests of the Church in his district. 7. To see that discipline is enforced. 8. To attend the bishop when present in his district, and to give him when absent all necessary information by letter of the state of his district. Provision was also made for giving each presiding elder a salary.*

Thus, nearly eight years after the first stage of the organization of the Church was completed, the presiding eldership was duly and fully constituted, substantially as it exists at the present time. In its inception and organization it was an adjunct to the episcopacy, and the presiding elder was in fact

* Discipline. Eighth edition. Philadelphia, 1792.

an assistant bishop, holding his office by the authority of his superior.

How came the first General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, namely, that of 1792, to be held? We have seen that no provision was made for such an assembly by the Christmas Conference of 1784. Asbury was almost a General Conference himself at that time in influence and authority. The Church had grown up under his marvelously efficient oversight, and his will was almost law. Yet he saw the necessity for some plan by which necessary legislation for the growing Church might be secured, and so, according to O'Kelly, he proposed the project of a General Conference. This was in 1789, after the Church had disencumbered itself of foreign control by the revocation by the Conferences in 1787 of the pledge of submission to the ecclesiastical rulership of Mr. Wesley. But, according to Rev. James O'Kelly, the preachers would not accept Mr.* Asbury's proposal. Mr. O'Kelly's statement of the case is in these words, to wit:

> And it came to pass in the second year of episcopacy (after the title of Bishop)† that Francis revealed his mind to the traveling preachers in the District Conferences respecting a change of government. Francis informed us of an uncommon and glorious union among the traveling preachers, so that the millennium was approaching or fast coming on. Then he proposed that a General Conference plan should be established, where all might assemble together at one place. This led us straightway into disputations. We raised several objections against his proposal, and our thoughts on such a plan of government were approved of through the districts The motion was lost and our objections published. And thus it is written in the Minutes for the year 1789, p. 12: "Whereas the holding of General Conferences on this extensive continent would be attended with a variety of difficulties and inconveniences to the work of God, loss of time, expense, etc."‡

Asbury, however, had another plan for securing legislation, which, according to O'Kelly, he submitted to the Conferences at the same time that he proposed a General Conference; namely,

* The title Mr. is generally given to Asbury in the Methodist writings of his day, instead of that of Bishop.

† O'Kelly here dates the rise of the episcopacy, not from the organization of the Church, but from the year that the title of bishop was assumed by the superintendents and sanctioned by the Conferences.

‡ *Apology for Protesting against the Methodist Episcopal Government*, (Richmond, 1798), pp. 13, 14.

a plan for a Council. Mr. O'Kelly says: "At the same time the General Conference plan was proposed Francis proposed a Council plan also, where a few [presiding] elders might meet with their bishop and do the business." *

It is perfectly clear that Asbury felt that some central body, such as a General Conference or a Council, which should be representative, in a degree at least, of all the preachers, was essential to the maintenance of the unity of the denomination. He found that however potential might be his personal influence and authority, his single voice could not decide all questions in debate. So he carried his measures from Conference to Conference, and submitted them to the preachers, who generally concurred in his plans. Thus for years he maintained harmony and unity. With the Church spreading with unexampled rapidity, and the number of Conferences consequently increasing, the prescient eye of the great leader saw that some better method of legislation was imperatively required. He had to tread an untrodden path. He thought first of one plan, and then of another, by which the Church's exigency might be met. The General Conference plan was rejected by the preachers, if we may accept the statement of O'Kelly, who at that time was undoubtedly one of the greatest preachers and leaders in the Church. Jesse Lee, in his *History of the Methodists*, says nothing about Asbury having proposed or advocated a General Conference, but speaks as if he determined upon a Council as his favorite method of providing for the urgent necessity of the new Church. Lee says:

> At these Conferences, in 1789, a plan was laid for the holding of a Council. The Bishops said they had made it a matter of prayer, and they believed the present plan was the best that they could think of. †

O'Kelly says:

> Francis said, "There must be something to preserve the union." However (said he), the Council shall only mature matters for the districts, and form no resolution without a unanimity. And after forming such resolutions they shall be binding on no district unless a majority of the preachers in the district agree to them. The Conference gave their voice in favor of the Council, and ordered that the following resolution be printed: "No resolution in Council shall be binding on any district unless a majority of the preachers agree to it." ‡

* Apology, p. 14. † Lee's History, p. 149. ‡ Apology, p. 15.

As it was constituted, the Council did not and could not meet the requirement of the Church. It was composed of the bishop and of the presiding elders, who were appointed by the bishop. Here, too, the Church recognized the office of presiding elder by giving to its incumbents, in virtue of that office, legislative powers. As they held office by the will of the bishop, he of course determined who should be members of the Council. The power of the presiding eldership was now very great. Those officers were not only assistant bishops, doing the work of the bishop in their districts during his absence, and even presiding in the Conferences when for any cause the bishop did not appear, but in addition to all this they were invested with legislative authority as members of the Council. None but a presiding elder could obtain a seat in the Council. There were, however, two exceptions to this, for when that officer was unable to attend he was authorized to send an elder of his district in his place; but the elder so designated by him could not take his seat unless the presiding elders in the Council, and the bishop also, consented to admit him. The Council was required to have at least nine members. If it was found that less than that number were present, the bishop had power to complete the requisite number by calling in men in full ministerial orders who were not presiding elders.

Only two sessions of the Council were held. The first was in Baltimore, in the first part of December, 1789. It consisted of twelve members: Bishop Asbury and eleven presiding elders. The Council formed a sort of constitution for itself, and did some legislating, and then adjourned to December 1, 1790. It met again on that date in Baltimore, with only ten presiding elders and Bishop Asbury as its members. It adjourned, after transacting considerable business, to December 1, 1792; but before that time a General Conference was held, and the Council was no more. Nicholas Snethen, in his reply to O'Kelly, says: "The instant a General Conference was acceded to the Council was superseded."

The Council proved very unsatisfactory, and notwithstanding Bishop Asbury used his great influence to sustain it he could not give it permanency in the Church. It was a sort of ecclesiastical oligarchy. A bishop was at its head, and its members were in reality selected by him. The power of the

bishop was already sufficiently great, without placing in his hands and those of his assistants, whose tenure of office was limited by his will, legislative authority. Jesse Lee says:

> We have sufficient reason to believe that the establishment of the Council was very injurious to the Methodist Connection. The plan produced such difficulties in the minds of the preachers and the people, and brought on such opposition, that it was hard to reconcile them one to another.*

James O'Kelly, who from the first was presiding elder of an influential district in Virginia which comprised several of the best circuits in the Connection, was a member of the first Council. He soon, however, became an ardent opponent of the scheme. He did not attend the second Council. His antagonism was so powerful that Asbury, contrary to his wishes, finally consented to the holding of a General Conference. The General Conference appears to have been decided upon because of the opposition to the Council, which opposition was led by Mr. O'Kelly. In his Apology, O'Kelly, in narrating some of the doings of the General Conference of 1792, says:

> They justly expected the affairs of the Council to have come before them, that being the business for which they were called together. Some of the members at sundry times would interrogate the president after this manner: "But where are the Council affairs, etc.—that being the cause of this meeting?" Thomas [Coke] would arise and warmly oppose, and demand silence on the subject, and silence it was.

Jesse Lee, in speaking of the General Conference of 1792, says: "The bishop requested that the name of the Council might not be mentioned in the Conference again." †

The failure of the Council to satisfy the Church necessitated a General Conference. Nicholas Snethen says:

> An attempt to convert a certain number of these officers [presiding elders] into a legislative Council led to a General Conference, and this in turn to a delegated General Conference.‡

Lee says that the Council's "proceedings gave such dissatisfaction to our Connection in general, and to some of the traveling preachers in particular, that they were forced to abandon the plan." § The fact was well recognized at that day that in abol-

* Lee's History, p. 159.
† *Ibid.*, p. 158.
‡ *Wesleyan Repository*, vol. i, p. 213.
§ Lee's History, p. 177.

ishing the Council and securing a General Conference O'Kelly was a chief instrument. Asbury himself, in his Journal, March 23, 1791, says:

> Long-looked-for Dr. Coke came to town [Charleston]. I found the doctor's sentiments with regard to the Council quite changed. James O'Kelly's letters had reached London. I felt perfectly calm, and acceded to a General Conference for the sake of peace.

As Asbury in this passage intimates, O'Kelly was successful in bringing Coke to his side. O'Kelly says:

> I prepared a letter of information for Thomas [Coke], who was expected at the Charleston Conference. He came according to expectation. He received my letter and pleaded my cause in the Conference; withstood Francis to the face; condemned his conduct, and he being the senior had a general meeting appointed according to our request; at which meeting of the preachers [General Conference] the new form of government [the Council] should be fairly investigated and the institution stand or fall by the decision of that Convention.*

O'Kelly further says:

> And it came to pass after these things, that Thomas and Francis came to the Conference at Petersburg, where the preachers were assembled; where I attended also, for all this time I had labored in the word and doctrine. Thomas informed us that the General Conference was appointed in order to overlook the whole proceedings of the Council, and that it should stand or fall by the decision of that meeting. Francis was sore displeased. But Thomas highly approved of my conduct, and that the treatment I had met with in his absence should not pass in silence, but be laid over for Conference.†

O'Kelly then proceeds to insert a letter which Coke addressed to him, May 4, 1791, in which the doctor says:

> You may depend upon my being with you, God willing, at the General Conference. I think no step will be taken during my absence to prevent the General Conference. It would be so great an insult on truth, justice, mercy, and peace that it will not be, I think, attempted. If it be, and successfully, we will call a Congress. I expect you to be faithful. But as Mordecai said to Esther, "Think not with thyself that thou shalt escape more than all the Jews; for if thou . . . holdest thy peace at this time, then shall there enlargement and deliverance arise to the Jews from another place, but thou and thy father's house shall be destroyed." O be firm, be very firm, be very cautious and very wise, etc. And depend upon a faithful friend in Thomas Coke.

* Apology, p. 14. † Apology.

It appears, furthermore, that Dr. Coke printed a circular in which he set forth reasons for the new measures he had espoused, as follows:

> Five things we have in view: 1. The abolishing of the arbitrary aristocracy.* 2. The investing the nomination of the presiding elders in the Conferences of the districts. 3. The limitations of the districts to be invested in the General Conferences. 4. An appeal allowed to each preacher on the reading out of the stations; and, 5. A General Conference of at least two thirds of the preachers as a check upon every thing. †

It will be observed that this "circular" of Dr. Coke shows that even before a General Conference had been held the controversy respecting the election of presiding elders by the Conferences was initiated in the Church, possibly by Dr. Coke, and that he, then a bishop, put himself upon record as in favor of such election. Whether the doctor was right or wrong in advocating that particular measure, none can doubt that he was right in the successful attempt which he made to secure a General Conference.

Bishop Asbury has denied that he displayed any acrimony to Dr. Coke respecting the latter's advocacy of a General Conference when at Charleston, though, in the language of O'Kelly, Coke "withstood him to the face." About ten years after that historical interview Asbury said concerning it:

> There was no sharpness at all upon my side with Doctor Coke at Charleston respecting the proposed General Conference which was afterward held in 1792. I was fully convinced that nothing else would finish the unhappy business with O'Kelly, and that did finish it.‡

Respecting this interview Mr. Snethen says:

> It is nothing strange that Dr. Coke should be affected by Mr. O'Kelly's representation of Mr. Asbury's conduct; and finding Mr. Asbury averse to a General Conference, it is not surprising that the doctor should insist upon Mr. O'Kelly's request being granted.§

* By the abolition of the "arbitrary aristocracy" Dr. Coke must have meant the "Council."

† *Mutual Rights and Christian Intelligencer*, vol. i, May 20, 1829, p. 70.

‡ Asbury's Journal, February 5, 1801, vol. iii, p. 8.

§ Snethen's Reply to O'Kelly.

The agitation of the subject disturbed the peace and threatened the unity of the Church. Says Snethen:

> Mr. Asbury submitted to a General Conference for fear of a division in the Connection. Like the true mother he could not bear the idea of dividing the living child. Note, the "General Meeting," or "Conference," is "appointed according to *our request*." It is Mr. O'Kelly and his friends that request it, and Mr. Asbury and his friends consent to it for the sake of peace.*

We thus see that the presiding eldership and the relation which it was made to sustain to the business of ecclesiastical legislation became, under the leadership of James O'Kelly, the occasion, if not the direct cause, of the institution in the Church of a duly constituted legislative body—the General Conference. In a letter to Bishop Asbury dated February 2, 1808, Dr. Coke says: "It was at that General Conference which was held on the case of James O'Kelly that it was resolved to have in future regular General Conferences."

It was probably inevitable, from the nature of the case and the immediate occasion of its convocation, that the General Conference of 1792 should canvass the whole question of the prerogatives and powers of the episcopacy, and especially the power of stationing the preachers. It does not appear that there was any motion to abolish the superintendency; there was, however, a formidable movement developed to materially restrict the power thereof. Since the Christmas Conference, the bishop had appointed the preachers absolutely. Should he continue to do so? Here the members of the General Conference divided. O'Kelly powerfully, but not without some indiscretion, perhaps, led the opposition. With him stood a goodly array of the best and ablest leaders of American Methodism, notably Freeborn Garrettson, Richard Ivey, Hope Hull, William M'Kendree, Richard Swift, and Stephen Davis. The leaders of the episcopal side of the controversy were John Dickins, Henry Willis, Nelson Reed, Thomas Morrell, and Joseph Everett. The debate was long and very able. It was no doubt one of the most remarkable discussions, as to the logic and eloquence with which it was conducted, that has ever been witnessed in any ecclesiastical assembly on this continent.

A body of Methodist preachers who are often referred to

* Snethen's Reply to O'Kelly.

almost contemptuously in these days by some of their erudite successors as uneducated, crude, illiterate, but who, it is said, managed to get on in rural places and among uncultivated people, in a period when greatness was not called for by the Church, met a threatening crisis and mastered it in 1792 with a degree of intellectual acumen and vigor which showed them to be masters of the high art of parliamentary discussion. The cultured Coke, who was educated at Oxford, and who bore a university title, sat in their presence during their great debates, astonished at the ability which they displayed. Dr. Coke, speaking of that historic General Conference, says:

> I had always entertained very high ideas of the piety and zeal of the American preachers, and of the considerable abilities of many; but I had no expectation, I confess, that the debates would be carried on in so very masterly a manner, so that on every question of importance the subject seemed to be considered in every possible light.*

The shrewd, versatile, and eloquent Jesse Lee, in speaking of the debate upon the proposed restriction of the power of the bishop to appoint the preachers, says: "This motion brought on a long debate. The arguments for and against the proposal were weighty, and handled in a masterly manner."† Truly there were giants in those days; and we drop the suggestion in passing, that Methodist preachers who seek to give point to their arguments in favor of extended training in the higher institutions of learning, as a prerequisite for entrance upon the ministry, by declaring that the preachers of the heroic and shaping period of American Methodism were men of slender powers and resources because of their lack of such advantages, do not give evidence of possessing the wisdom of the fathers. Two facts stand, and will forever: first, that the present facilities for education are to be prized and availed of; and, second, that no abler nor more successful race of preachers ever led the sacramental host in America than that sublime and victorious phalanx of holy warriors who, in conquering the wildernesses of the western hemisphere for God, founded and reared in majestic proportions the goodly fabric of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

But let us return to the celebrated debate which gives such great historical interest to the General Conference of 1792.

* Coke's Journals (London, 1793), p. 163. † Lee's History, p. 178.

Shall there be any restriction placed upon the stationing power of the bishop? That was the question which rocked the first General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. How that question came up Mr. O'Kelly shall tell:

In our debates, if at any time we were led to speak of the conduct of Francis, he would leave the house. The debates of the synod turned chiefly on episcopal dignity. The Virginians for a while did distinguish themselves in defending their ecclesiastical liberties, but they fainted in the struggle. Richard Ivey* exceeded himself. He spake with tears and in the fear of God and much to the purpose, crying popery, etc. If at any time a minister would move to abridge in any degree the bishop's power, the defenders of that faith would not only oppose the motion, but would charge the member with something like treason, as it were.

It would have been an unspeakable blessing to the Methodist Church if we had been allowed to have done the business for which we met,† because it would have necessarily led us into the very merits of the cause, or a full investigation of Church government. I began to see that equity and gospel simplicity would be obliged to retreat, for power and policy would overcome the minority. I feared the ministers were carried away by an adventurous leader. I then arose and stood before the assembly with the New Testament of the Lord Jesus in my hand, and spake after this manner: "Brethren, hearken to me. Put away all other books and let this be the only *criterion*, and that will satisfy me." I thought the ministers of Christ would unanimously agree to such a proposal. But, alas! they opposed the motion. A certain member, whose name was John [Dickins, probably], withstood me, and spake after this manner: "The Scripture is by no means a sufficient form of government. The Lord has left that business for his ministers to do, suitable to times and places." I withstood him for a season, but in vain. The motion was lost. I now saw that moderate [episcopacy] was rising to its wonted and intended dignity. I discovered, also, that districts had lost their suffrage. I considered that the stations of the Lord's ministers rested entirely with Francis, so that unless the absolute power could be abridged the best of men might ever be injured and run out of the Connection. I now moved again after this manner: Let a preacher who thinks himself injured in his appointment have an appeal to the District Conference. The motion was seconded and warmly debated.‡

* Richard Ivey was an eloquent preacher. Thomas Ware has illustrated his skill as an orator, and the redoubtable Benjamin Abbott, in his Life, p. 81, says: "Abundance of people attended, to whom Brother Ivey preached with great power, being full of faith and the Holy Ghost. Many of the people wept, and it was a good season."

† The business referred to was the doings of the Council of presiding elders.

‡ O'Kelly's Apology.

It is due to history that the leader of the debate concerning the powers of the episcopate which distinguished the first General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church should thus be permitted to narrate in his own way his relation to the question, and the manner of its introduction before the body. The motion of O'Kelly was treated by the Conference as a measure of great gravity, and it was at first received with considerable favor. Even Coke himself had put himself on record as favoring such a measure,* although it would appear from O'Kelly's review of the case that the doctor did not stand with him in the General Conference. The Conference was quite full. O'Kelly says there were a hundred or more members. Thomas Morrell, who was prominent in the body, says in his manuscript journal that the General Conference of 1792 consisted of 116 traveling preachers, and that "Dr. Coke presided." Lee says the preachers came from all parts of the United States where there were circuits, expecting that something of great importance would transpire. He says of O'Kelly's measure, that "there had never been a subject before us that so fully called forth all the strength of the preachers. A large majority of them appeared at first to be in favor of the motion." †

The debate on O'Kelly's resolution was remarkable for the ability with which it was conducted, and also for its length. The subject was under discussion about three days. O'Kelly says:

> William McKendree, with several more, did with holy zeal strive with me for liberty. Conference adjourned till the second day of the next week, at which time they resumed the debate with double vigor. ‡

O'Kelly, as we shall see, again states that after debating it on that Monday it was adjourned to the next day, and then resumed. Jesse Lee, in his Journal, says:

> *Monday*, 5th. We spent the whole day in debating one point, namely, "Whether or not a preacher that thinks himself injured in his appointment to a circuit shall have an appeal to the District Conference." We had close and long debates, and at five o'clock we came to the Dutch Church, and about eight o'clock we broke up, and a majority was for no appeal. §

* See page 535.

† Lee's History, pp. 178, 179.

‡ O'Kelly's Apology.

§ Tuft's Memoirs of Lee, p. 182.

William Colbert, in his Journal, which exists in manuscript, definitely states that the resolution was introduced on Friday, November 2, and debated by several of the leading preachers, whose names he records; that the debate extended over the next day (Saturday), and then that it was resumed on Monday, and closed, as Lee states, after occupying the day.

No actor in that extraordinary struggle has written out to the extent that O'Kelly has done his recollections of it. It is quite possible that he wrote his Apology under a degree of prejudice; nevertheless his sketch of the contest, in those historic November days when the absolute power of the bishop over the appointments of the preachers was affirmed for the first time by a General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, bears the marks of historical credibility; and so far as we are informed its general accuracy has never been questioned. Some particular points or facts concerning which O'Kelly may have labored under misapprehension Mr. Snethen has explained or corrected in his Reply to the Apology, but the narrative in the main may, we believe, be regarded as historically accurate. Mr. O'Kelly says:

> Conference adjourned to the second day of the next week, at which time they resumed the debate with double vigor. Some pretended fears that if an appeal were allowed it would reflect on the wisdom and goodness of the bishop, etc. Others saw, or thought they saw, that such liberty would be injurious to the Church, because preachers would ever be appealing, and they would take each other's part, so that easy and wealthy circuits would be crowded with preachers, while poor circuits would be left desolate. It was urged by several that the bishops always appointed well as far as they knew. I prayed them not to arrogate infallibility for the bishop, for in my judgment he made many very injudicious appointments. Then arose an elder and spake after this manner: "Where is the man who will say that the bishop ever wronged a preacher?" The interrogative was repeated, and at last a young man whose name was Rice assured the Conference that he knew two preachers who were injured by him, as he thought.* Then members arose out of due order as men alarmed, as though treason had been heard. The very cry was, "He has impeached the bishop!" The worthy minister arose and asked pardon (for speaking the truth), inasmuch as he did not

*Snethen, in his Reply to the Apology of O'Kelly, has explained at some length, no doubt upon the authority of Asbury, the case of the two preachers here referred to.

intend it as an impeachment. And it came to pass on the morrow, Conference met pursuant to adjournment and revived the former dispute. The appellants appeared to display invincible courage, and in a Christian spirit they still opposed the oppressive measures whereby the bishop or his deputy [that is to say, the presiding elder] might banish a minister, or expel him from the Connection. For if a minister should refuse to take a station even in the British Islands he must be neglected, having no station, and stand as a cipher with a wounded character. One arose and held forth after this manner: "This may fairly satisfy those who desire an appeal; that is, they may appeal to the General Conference." My answer to this illogical proposition was after this manner: "Shall a preacher who is injured this year, then, after passing through his distress (if not death), at the expiration of four years appeal?" For what? For vengeance? The mischief is done. Moreover what happened the last evening has not escaped my memory. A worthy character had to ask pardon for declaring the truth when asked. However, to come to the point at once, if you desire any further testimony relative to the bishop's injuring any one, I am the man he has injured." There followed a profound silence, a few sighs, but no reply. A little after the going down of the sun Conference adjourned to the Dutch Church, where the long dispute was finished by candlelight. The defense was more powerful than ever, yet with a deal of Christian moderation. I was entirely silent. Hope Hull,* a worthy elder, sounded a proper alarm. He exceeded himself by far. I could wish his words were written in a book. He spake after this manner: "O heavens, are we not Americans? Did not our fathers bleed to free their sons from the British yoke? And shall we be slaves to ecclesiastical oppression?" He lifted up his voice and cried, "What! No appeal for an injured brother? Are these things so? Am I in my senses?" Henry [Willis probably] arose and displayed his political abilities, exclaiming against the balance of power with an essay on Church history. Stephen Davis, with whom was the spirit of wisdom, withstood the celebrated Henry, assuring us that the last arguments were badly founded. "We are far gone into popery." Quickly after this the votes were taken. Ah, fatal hour! The motion was lost and out of a hundred or more we had a small minority. Some withdrew from that hour, resolving to enjoy their liberties at the expense of society, and hold fast faith and a good conscience. Will not these words cause the ears of an American to tingle: Shall an injured man have an appeal? No.†

* Hope Hull was a remarkable man. Coke speaks of him as "a flame of fire." Lovick Pierce says: "In many of his masterly efforts, his words rushed upon his audience like an avalanche." Snethen says: "I have seen persons fall under his preaching as though they had received a mortal wound, and vast congregations agitated like the trees of a wood in a tempest."

† O'Kelly's Apology.

Bishop Asbury was absent from the Conference room during the debate. He was not, however, without concern respecting what was transpiring in the body. While he was one of the most saintly and unselfish men of his generation he was a man of positive opinions and strong will. He held his power with a resolute and tenacious grip. He never welcomed any sign of a tendency in the Church to restrain or in any way qualify his absolute control over the appointments of the preachers. He had watched and fostered the cause to which he gave such unwearied and fruitful service from the time when only about half of a thousand persons in the country bore the name of Methodist. He felt toward the rapidly growing Church the solicitude of a father. Having never entered wedlock the Church was to him as a bride and as a child. His eye had witnessed the entrance of all the preachers into the itinerant service. In the turbulent years of the Revolution he clung to the fire-tried Methodists of America, and refused to leave them. It is not wonderful, therefore, that the preachers should hesitate to pass any measure which would seriously contravene the views or wound the spirit of one whom they so loved and revered as a father and so trusted and honored as a leader. Though absent from the Conference room, Asbury caused his opinion of the motion of O'Kelly to be understood by those whose votes were to determine the issue. He wrote a communication to the Conference in which he said:

> I am happy in the consideration that I never stationed a preacher through enmity, or as a punishment. I have acted for the glory of God, the good of the people, and the usefulness of the preachers. Are you sure that if you please yourselves the people will be as fully satisfied? They often say, "Let us have such a preacher;" and sometimes, "We will not have such a preacher; we will sooner pay him to stay at home." Perhaps I must say, "His appeal forced him upon you." I am one, ye are many. I am as willing to serve you as ever. I want not to sit in any man's way. I scorn to solicit votes.*

The failure in the General Conference of the attempt to abridge the power of the bishop gave genuine satisfaction to Asbury. He even contemplated it as a deliverance from satanic malice. Only a few days after the General Conference adjourned he wrote: "The General Conference and the District Confer-

* Asbury's Journal, vol. ii, pp. 172, 173.

ences have kept us long from our work; but after all Satan's spite, I think our *sifting* and *shaking* will be for good."*

The excitements of that eventful period in the history of the American Methodist Church have passed away with the men who were actors in those stormy scenes. James O'Kelly, who strove so strenuously for the less absolute form of episcopacy which his motion contemplated, was a man of uncommon resources. He was a commanding preacher and a leader of men. Though a Southern man he was a foe of human slavery. Of warm temperament and generous sympathies, he was perhaps betrayed into indiscretion of speech and manner in the great debate in which he stood foremost. Thus he contributed to his own defeat. Some of his coadjutors, even McKendree, also used strong words, which, amid the excitement of the contest, may have seemed to them sufficiently moderate, but which became effective weapons in the hands of their antagonists. Thomas Ware, who was present, says:

> Had Mr. O'Kelly's proposition been differently managed it might possibly have been carried. For myself, at first I did not see any thing very objectionable in it. But when it came to be debated I very much disliked the spirit of those who advocated it, and wondered at the severity in which the movers and others who spoke in favor of it indulged in the course of their remarks. Some of them said it was a shame for a man to *accept* of such a lordship, much more to *claim* it; and that they who would submit to this absolute dominion must forfeit all claims to freedom, and ought to have their ears bored through with an awl, and to be fastened to their master's door and become slaves for life. One said that to be denied such an appeal was an insult to his understanding, and a species of tyranny to which others might submit if they chose, but for his part he must be excused for saying he could not. The advocates of the opposite side were more dispassionate and argumentative.†

The defeat of his favorite measure by a considerable majority fell heavily upon O'Kelly. The day following he sent a communication to the General Conference declaring his purpose to withdraw. This caused much sorrow. "When the letter was read," says Lee, "many of the preachers wept heartily." The Conference sent a committee "to treat with him," one of whom was Freeborn Garrettson. It was found impossible, however, to reconcile him to the situation. "Many tears were shed," says

* Asbury's Journal, vol. ii, p. 175. † Life of Ware, pp. 220, 221.

Garrettson. He adds that O'Kelly's "wound was deep and apparently incurable."

Mr. O'Kelly left the Conference accompanied by McKendree and others, and went back to Virginia. McKendree also proposed to leave the traveling ranks. A few days after the close of the Conference, Asbury writes: "W. McKendree and R. H—— [Rice Haggard] sent me their resignations in writing."* Mr. McKendree, however, soon returned to the itinerant work.

Not so O'Kelly. He inaugurated the first schism known to American Methodism. He communicated his plan to McKendree on their way back from Baltimore. McKendree says:

> The old gentleman and myself traveled the greater part of the way together. He unfolded his plan. It was to be "a glorious Church"—"no slavery." But it was founded upon the supposition that a ruinous government was being introduced by the revolutionizing Conference he had left. The supposed design of the bishop answered to the root, and the more ingenious of our cabinet discovered the trunk and all the branches of this tree. *It was "dark"*—it was "popery!" It was a horrible thing.†

O'Kelly organized a new Church about 1794, which was called the Republican Methodist Church. Several years afterward it adopted the name of Christian Church. It was chiefly confined to a comparatively small portion of country in the South. Nevertheless, the schism caused a considerable loss of members to the Methodist Episcopal Church in the region where O'Kelly's ministry as a presiding elder had been so long and so effectively exercised. The church of O'Kelly is still in existence. He continued to preach the Gospel to the end of his long career, which reached the great limit of ninety-one years. His remains repose near a country church called O'Kelly's Chapel, on the road between Chapel Hill and Raleigh in North Carolina. He possessed in a high degree the confidence and esteem of the people in that region, where he long dwelt. One who was well acquainted with O'Kelly for thirty-five years says:

> I knew as much of his sentiments as any human being, and I declare that he always contended for the divinity of Christ and the fullness and extent of his atonement, with a strength of

* Asbury's Journal, vol. ii, p. 174.

† Paine's Life of McKendree, vol. i, pp. 64, 65.

thought and energy of expression that I have never heard equaled by any other man. This was the subject of the last sermon I ever heard him deliver, when bending under the weight of almost ninety years. His superior as a Christian and his equal as a preacher I have never yet seen. He died in the triumphs of faith.*

Mr. O'Kelly lived until the 16th of October, 1826, when he no doubt entered the heavenly rest into which Bishop Asbury had preceded him by more than ten years. We can only regret that O'Kelly did not, like Garrettson, Ivey, Hull, and McKendree, consent to submit to his defeat, and to stay in the Church whose battles he had fought so bravely in the days of her weakness, and through the trials and the perils of the Revolutionary War. Had he done so, we can scarcely doubt that his would have been one of the most honored and illustrious names in the galaxy of her great and saintly heroes.

Having, as the result of so thorough and heated a discussion, yielded to the bishop the absolute power of appointment in the distribution of the preachers, it was only natural and logical that the General Conference of 1792 should place the selection of the presiding elders, which office it accepted and formally incorporated into the Church's economy, with the bishop. The Asburyan theory of the episcopate having triumphed over the O'Kellyan view, Asbury was left in full possession of the field. This was too much for O'Kelly, and hence his secession.

It is an historical fact that almost from the beginning, and especially during all the nineteenth century thus far, the presiding eldership has been a perennial occasion of controversy in the Church. At the General Conference of 1800 the question of the election of presiding elders by the Conferences was before the body and elicited discussion. The question, as moved by William Ormond, a prominent preacher of the South, on May 7, was "that the yearly Conferences be authorized by this General Conference to nominate and elect their own presiding elders." It was made the order of the day for May 13. On that day the following record appears in the General Conference Journal: "Brother Ormond's motion with reference to the appointment of presiding elders was called up and negatived." At the next General Conference, 1804, a motion was made by Thomas Lyell, one of the foremost preachers of the body, that

* *Mutual Rights and Christian Intelligencer*, October 5, 1829.

there be no presiding elders. This was on Thursday morning, May 10. The Conference adjourned to the afternoon for the further consideration of the subject. "After a long debate the motion that there be no presiding elders was lost." *

Mr. Lyell subsequently withdrew from the Church and became rector of an Episcopal Church in the city of New York. He was a man of rare gifts. William Colbert, no mean judge, heard him preach at Baltimore during the General Conference of 1800, and after mentioning the fact in his Journal adds: "His powers of oratory are great indeed." Lyell retained his regard for his former Methodist fellow-laborers after he became an Episcopal rector. The Rev. Joseph Travis, of the South, was a member of the General Conference of 1812, which was held in the city of New York. He says:

> One day, during the sitting of our Conference, I dined with the Rev. Dr. Thomas Lyell, a Protestant Episcopalian minister, in company with Bishop Asbury, Lewis Myers, and Philip Bruce. The parson was truly polite, and gave us a princely dinner. †

At the General Conference of 1808 Ezekiel Cooper moved on the 16th of May the following resolution, which was seconded by Joshua Wells:

> *Resolved*, That in the fifth section of Discipline, after the question, "By whom shall the presiding elders be chosen?" the answer shall be: Ans. 1st, Each Annual Conference respectively, without debate, shall annually choose by ballot its own presiding elders. ‡

The next forenoon, May 17, Joshua Soule attempted to close the debate by moving the previous question. His attempt failed by a vote of 61 to 53. In the afternoon Samuel Draper tried the same means for the suppression of the debate, but his motion for the previous question, which Elijah Hedding seconded, was lost. Then Thomas F. Sargeant moved "that the motion for electing presiding elders be postponed." This motion was also lost by a vote of 59 to 56. Then Joshua Soule again moved the previous question, which also was lost.

On the following day, Wednesday, May 18, Thomas F. Sargeant moved the postponement of the motion for electing presiding elders until the 15th of August ensuing, which motion was lost. Then Elijah R. Sabin moved "that the vote

* General Conference Journal, vol. i, p. 54. † Autobiography of Travis, p. 79.
‡ General Conference Journal, p. 83.

be taken on the motion for electing presiding elders without further debate." On motion of Freeborn Garrettson the vote was taken by ballot, by which ballot Cooper's resolution was lost by 52 to 73.*

The controversy was renewed at the General Conference of 1812, when the movement of the election of presiding elders came within a very few votes of success. There were then no Methodist journals to discuss the subject, and therefore, so far as we know, the formal debates upon it were through all this period confined to the General Conference. At the General Conference of 1812 the strength of the measure was shown by the ability as well as by the number of the men who advocated it. Snethen, Laban Clark, Asa Shinn, Jesse Lee, Ezekiel Cooper, and many others stood for the change. Laban Clark introduced the question in the General Conference, and it called forth a long and strong debate. Nicholas Snethen, on the 19th of May, moved an amendment, giving to the bishops the power of nominating the presiding elders, the Conferences to vote on such nominations by ballot without debate, and the bishop to continue to nominate until an election should be accomplished. T. L. Douglass, of Tennessee, moved to lay the whole subject on the table till the bishops be requested "to explain their opinion respecting it." This motion was lost by a vote of 41 to 42. Mr. Douglass then moved "that the Conference go into a committee of the whole." This motion was withdrawn, and the vote on Mr. Snethen's amendment was taken, and it was lost by 39 to 43.

Conference then adjourned, and in the afternoon of the same day the vote on the original motion was taken and lost by 45 to 42. A change of two votes, therefore, would have carried the measure, notwithstanding the determined and powerful opposition of the episcopacy. Mr. Snethen says:

> A majority was supposed to be in favor of the measure, and it was so modified as to leave the power to nominate in the hands of the bishops,† but as it was known that one of the bishops would not serve if the change were made it was lost by a small majority.‡

The debate in the General Conference of 1812 on the presiding elder question was very earnest, and no doubt very able.

* Gen. Conf. Journal, pp. 83, 84. † *Wesleyan Repository*, vol. ii, p. 133.

‡ The Journal of the General Conference of 1812 shows, as we have seen, that this proposed modification was voted down.

It was characterized by plainness of speech. The disputants said what they meant in intelligible English. Mr. Snethen says:

> Some arguments that I heard used at the General Conference held in New York, 1812, occur to my mind. On the question relative to appointing presiding elders, one pleaded they are the bishop's legs and arms; another, they are the bishop's eyes; another, they are the bishop's ears; another, they are his wings; another wants the motion laid aside till he can consult the bishop's notes. These were all presiding elders.*

Snethen himself used vigorous language in the discussion, "boldly declaring that his very soul hated the present plan of creating presiding elders." †

The witty and eloquent Jesse Lee bore a conspicuous part in the debate. Bishop Asbury showed his disapprobation of the proposed measure by sitting in Conference with his back turned to the speakers who advocated the change. One of the disputants had characterized some of Lee's remarks as being such as a man of common sense would not use. When subsequently Lee referred to this censure he said: "I am, Mr. President, compelled to believe the brother thinks me a man of *uncommon* sense." Turning half round in his chair, Bishop Asbury replied, "Yes, yes, Brother Lee, you are a man of uncommon sense." Very quickly and pleasantly Lee answered: "Then, sir, I beg that uncommon attention be paid to what I am about to say."‡ Mr. Lee's witty retort was not effectual, however, in changing the Bishop's physical attitude toward the General Conference, as he continued to sit with his face to the wall. This was Asbury's last General Conference. After the debate closed he wrote:

> After a serious struggle of two days in General Conference to change the mode of appointing presiding elders, it remains as it was. Means had been used to keep back every presiding elder who was known to be favorable to appointments by the bishops; and long and earnest speeches have been made to influence the minds of the members. Lee, Shinn, and Snethen were of a side, and these are great men.§

Though again defeated, the advocates of an elective presiding eldership did not abandon their cause. The controversy was resumed in the General Conference of 1816, which was held

* *Wesleyan Repository*, vol. ii, p. 451. † Autobiography of Rev. J. Travis, p. 78.
‡ Leroy M. Lee's Life of Jesse Lee, p. 476. § Asbury's Journal, vol. iii, p. 386.

soon after Asbury's great soul had ascended to the peaceful fellowship of the Church triumphant. On the 7th of May, Samuel Merwin moved the following amendment to the section of the Discipline relating to presiding elders:

1st Question: How shall the presiding elders be chosen and appointed? Answer: At an early period at each Annual Conference the bishop shall nominate a person for each district that is to be supplied, and the Conference shall without debate proceed in the choice, the person nominated being absent; and if the person nominated be not chosen according to nomination, the bishop shall nominate two others, one of whom it shall be the duty of the Conference to choose.

2d Question: By whom shall the preachers be appointed to their stations? Answer: By the bishop, with the advice and counsel of the presiding elders.

On the 12th of May, Merwin's motion was called up and made the order of the day, and the Conference resolved itself into a committee of the whole for the consideration of the question. Nathan Bangs offered an amendment, which was admitted by the original mover, by which the answer to the first question was made to read:

The bishop at an early period of the Annual Conference shall nominate an elder for each district, and the Conference shall without debate, either confirm or reject such nomination. If the person or persons so nominated be not elected by Conference, the bishop shall nominate two others, for each of the vacant districts, one of whom shall be chosen. And the presiding elder so elected and appointed shall remain in office four years, unless dismissed by the mutual consent of the bishop and Conference, or elected to some other office by the General Conference. But no presiding elder shall be removed from office during the term of four years without his consent, unless the reasons for such removal be stated to him in presence of the Conference, which shall decide, without debate, on his case.*

A final vote in the General Conference on the report of the committee of the whole was reached on the 13th of May. The vote on the first part of the motion was 38 to 63, although in the committee of the whole the vote stood 42 to 60. The contest was renewed at the General Conference of 1820; but a review of the extraordinary proceedings of that body must be deferred to another time.

* General Conference Journal, vol. i, pp. 135–140.

Art. IV.—THE ISLE OF MAN.

In the middle of the Irish Sea, and within sight of England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, rises *Ellan Vannin Veg Veen*, the "dear little Isle of Man." Nine established lines of steamers connect it with the sister countries. From Douglas to Liverpool is a distance of 75 miles; to Barrow or Fleetwood, 40; Whitehaven, 37; Glasgow, 140; Silloth, 66; Dublin, 94; Greenore, 50, and Belfast, 80 miles. Of superficial area it embraces 130,000 statute acres. The Calf of Man, containing 800 acres, 54° 15′ N. lat. and 4° 30′ W. long., lies southwest of the island. From N. E. by N. to S. W. by S., or from the Point of Ayre to the Sound of the Calf, the island is 33¼ miles long. Its widest part is from Banks's Howe to Ballanayre, a distance of 12½ miles. The coast line is frequently indented by bays, and presents a singularly bold, abrupt, and dangerous front. Several points rise precipitously from the sea to a commanding altitude. Bradda Head is 390; Maughold Head, 373; Banks's Howe, 394, and Spanish Head, 350 feet above the water-level. Away from the shore, among other eminences of less or greater height, Cronk-na-Irey-Lhaa, "the hill of the rising day," attains an elevation of 1,445 feet; Bein-y-Phot, of 1,772; North Barrule of 1,842, and Snaefell of 2,024 feet. From the summit of the latter the eye ranges over portions of all the circumjacent realms.

In geologic structure the Isle of Man is typical of the Cambrian and carboniferous periods. Underlying the stratified rocks, and breaking through them in veins and mountain masses, are the igneous rocks. Exceedingly hard syenite, softer granite, porphyritic greenstone, and imperfect basalt are of frequent occurrence. Near the great granitic outbursts are situated the mines of lead and other metals. Resting on the primary rocks is an immense deposit of slaty strata from 20,000 to 25,000 feet thick. Beyond a few unnamed fucoids, and the supposed traces of some great Cambrian crustaceans, it contains no fossil remains. In some sections it assumes the texture of a fine-grained slate, with the cleavage so well developed that it answers all roofing purposes about as well as the best products of Welsh quarries. Next follows a deposit

of dark red conglomerate on the southern, of soft red sandstone on the north-western, and of Peel sandstone on the western portion of the island. Each has its own characteristic fossils, particularly *Orthis Sharpei* in the southern and *Favosites polymorpha* in the western. Subsequent upheaval raised the carboniferous limestones, with their remains of gigantic reeds and huge tree-ferns, into the sunlight. Vast numbers of fossil species, suited to warm, shallow waters, are found in the later limestones of Poolvash Bay. At intervals throughout these lengthy periods of deposition, repeated volcanic eruptions occurred. The latest mixed its streams of molten lava with fragments of limestone, and thus formed the trap breccia which is one of the most interesting of the insular rocks. The strata intermediate between the carboniferous period and the deposits of the drift are wanting. Of ossiferous caves there are none. Complete specimens of the bones of the great elk, *Cervus megaceros*, have been discovered. Fascinating to scientists as the physical history of the island is, the fact that less than 100,000 acres of its surface are arable is of more immediate practical value.

The scenery is exquisitely beautiful. The rounded hills nestle among admirably cultivated farms, and raise lordly heads crowned with golden furze and fragrant pink heather to the embrace of overhanging clouds. The climate is remarkably salubrious. The mean annual temperature is higher than that of any other section on the same parallel of latitude. Situated on the culminating point of the isothermal curve of 49.84 degrees, it has a mean winter temperature of 42 degrees Fahr. Consumptives find great relief in the singularly elastic and bracing atmosphere of its mountain ranges. Less than twenty degrees of temperature cover the difference between the hottest and coldest months. Neither Montpelier nor Madeira nor Milan is more healthy. The arboreal flora differ but slightly from those of the other British Isles, but shrubs and flowers which cannot survive the winter there flourish here in rich profusion. Whole hedges of large-sized fuchsias charm the visitor by their superb perfection. Hydrangeas, laurels, and laurestinas luxuriate in every garden. Arbutus and myrtle attain the dignity of trees. Forms of New Zealand vegetation take kindly to the soil, and verbenas spring up without culture in the open air.

Tailless cats and tailless chickens, and a small hardy breed of sheep, whose flesh is of exquisite flavor, are species of the fauna peculiar to this locality.

Part of the population, drawn hither in pursuit of health, is only transient. That which is permanent numbered 25,760 males and 27,798 females at the last census in 1881, and was less by 484 persons than the number returned in 1871. The number of inhabited houses had risen within that decade from 9,413 to 9,425, of uninhabited houses from 856 to 1,018, and of houses in process of erection from 60 to 112. The increase of population in sixty years was 13,477, or 33.6 per cent., and of houses 2,798. There were reported 304 persons over 80 years of age, and one had passed the limit of 105. 16,853 males and 17,149 females were unmarried. 7,875 men and 8,086 women were married. 1,032 males and 2,563 females were widowed. The discrepancies between these numbers of unmarried, married, and widowed find explanation in the fact that during the month of March, 1881, 161 fishing boats, with 1,256 men, started from the port of Peel, and 104 boats, with 766 men, from Rushen and other ports for the mackerel fishery at Kinsale in Ireland. Not less than 2,293 men were occupied in maritime affairs. From 1871 to 1880, including both years, 15,205 births and 11,372 deaths were registered. This excess of 3,833 births over deaths evidences a fecundity that in brief time would cause the population to pass beyond the local means of subsistence. Every small country is a demonstration of the Malthusian theory, except as it is affected by the introduction of manufactures and foreign trade.

The population is moderately of European character as differentiated from a purely aborginal stock. 45,453 in 1881 were natives of the island, 5,197 of England, 183 of Wales, 802 of Scotland, and 1,532 of Ireland. More than a dozen different countries, including the United States of America, were also represented.

The basis of this composite nationality is undoubtedly Celtic. A Belgic tribe called the *Menapii* caused great trouble for Cæsar. Part of the same tribe settled at Waterford in Ireland, and may have bestowed a name similar to their own upon Man. Pliny terms it *Monabia;* Orosius and Bede, *Menavia;* Gildas, *Manau* and *Eubonia;* Cæsar and Tacitus, *Mona.* But

a local antiquary is of opinion that this latter denomination was shared in common with the Isle of Anglesey, as a *Sedes Druidarum*, or abode of the holy wise men; "and that it has the same connection with the Sanskrit root *mán*, in reference to religious knowledge, as our word *monk*. So also *Moonshee* and the names of eminent lawgivers, as *Manu*, son of Brahma, *Menu*, *Minos*, and *Menes*." Its name may, however, have been derived from its position as the center of the British Isles. Man is styled *Vannin* or *Mannin*, the Middle Island, by the native Manx; Ireland, *Nerin*, or Western Island; England, *Sausin*, or Southern Island; Wales, *Bretin*, or British Island; and Scotland, *Alpin*, or Mountainous Island. On an ancient cross in the wall of Kirk Michael churchyard, the name of the island is spelled in Runic characters as *Maun*. These variant orthographies are all explicable by the political vicissitudes of the inhabitants. Man it is now, and Man it is likely to be.

The native language is unquestionably a dialect of the Celtic, and is said to be easily understood by those who speak the Erse, Gaelic, Cymric, and Breton varieties of the same tongue. It is rapidly dying out as the vernacular, but does not deserve the epithet of "gibberish," by which some of the native Manx stigmatize it. The venerable and Rev. William Drury, Rector of Kirk Braddan, still preaches in it every Sunday afternoon, and the Rev. Henry Cubbon, a Wesleyan Methodist lay evangelist of the island, also holds forth the word of life with thrilling eloquence in the speech of his ancestors. Thanks to the exertions of "The Manx Society for the Publication of National Documents," the literature of the country has been saved from destruction. During the episcopacy of Bishops Wilson and Hildesley the Prayer Book and the Bible were translated into the Manx language, but in very few if any of the parish churches is the service conducted in Manx. The author of "The Bible in Spain" states, that "the Manx possess a literature peculiarly their own, entirely in manuscript. This literature consists of ballads on sacred subjects which are called *carvals*, a corruption of the English word *carols*. These *carvals* are preserved in uncouth-looking, smoke-stained volumes, in low farm-houses and cottages situated in mountains, gills, and glens. They constitute the genuine literature of *Ellan Vannin*. There are, in addition, a few scattered poems

in Manx, which have appeared at various times in print; amongst them a grand historic ballad of the beginning of the sixth century, a ballad detailing the tragic death of Illiam Dhone, another of Molly Charane, a fourth called *Kirree fo Sniaghty*."

In Manx, as in all the Celtic dialects, all the substantives are masculine or feminine. Articles and adjectives have a plural as well as a singular form. The adjective follows and the article precedes the substantive, as in *dooiney moar*, man big; *deiney mooarey*, men big; *y dooiney*, the man; *ny deiney*, the men.

Correct pronunciation of Manx is among the hidden mysteries, incapable of explanation to any ear not accustomed to it on the spot. The peculiarities of native patronymics arrest the curiosity of strangers. Corjeag and Kerruish are uncommon, but Quark, Quilleash, Quayle, Quaggan, and Qualtrough, Mylchraine, Mylchreest, and Myloidget are surely as indigenous as the tailless cats and chickens. Christian is a surname more frequent than that of the omnipresent Smith. To discriminate between the different Christians the neighbors fall back on the customs of their Norse ancestry. Molly Jack Nicholas is Mary, the daughter of John, son of Nicholas; Huan-a-Twoaie is John from the North. Dan beg Dan moar Dan Bill Illiam Ballacorey has a name long enough to provoke homicidal tendencies in those obliged to use it. It is Manx, but it is not tolerable.

The Manx language may be as ancient as the semi-mythical personage who, as tradition affirms, gave part of his name to this insular dominion. He was known as Mannanan-beg-Mac-y-Leir. The early Irish legends state that he was the father of Fin Mac Coul, their national hero. A Manx ballad of the sixteenth century describes him as a Paynim and necromancer. As a landlord he would have exactly suited the modern Hibernian tenant, for all the yearly rent he required of each landholder was a bundle of coarse meadow grass. The smallness of the tribute and the accompanying freedom from labor and anxiety were regretfully remembered by the people long after their conversion to Christianity. This conversion was effected by Saint Patrick; whose mother, Concha, gave name to one of the island parishes, and who did more for the

Manx than he did for the Irish, because he not only banished all snakes and venomous reptiles from the island, but expelled all the mendicants, magicians, and invisible devils.

The political annals of the Isle of Man are full of fruitful suggestions. The aboriginal Celts left some pathetic mementos in the shape of cairns, cromlechs, kist-vaens, round towers, and Druidic circles, but not many authentic records of history. From the sixth to the tenth century the country was governed by the princes of North Wales. In A. D. 517 it was wrested from the Scots by Maelgwyn. His successors continued to rule until 913, when Anarawd ap Roderic, last of the Welsh line of Manx sovereigns, died. England, Ireland and the Western Isles were then beginning to suffer severely from the piratical incursions of the Norse vikings. Not only did they subvert the Anglo-Saxon throne in South Britain, but they also established one kingdom in Ireland and another that embraced the Hebrides and the Isle of Man. The last was founded by Norwegians. Man was seized by Orry, who led "a fleet of strong ships worthy of being under the command of such a powerful king." He consolidated his power as king of Man and the Isles, and introduced into the former the legislative institution termed the House of Keys, which has continued to the present day. Originally its title was *Taxiaxi*, that is, pledges or hostages. He divided the island into six districts or counties, called *sheadings*, and caused the laws to be committed to writing. Guthred, his successor, commenced the erection of Castle Rushen, in which he is buried. A long era of monotonous violence and barbarity ensued after his death. The stone crosses covered with Runic inscriptions and found in churchyards belong to the Norse era. They tell little more than the one at Kirk Braddan, which states that "Thorlaf Neaki erected this cross to the memory of Fjiak, his son, brother's son to Jabr." Hacon, king of Man, was one of the eight vassal sovereigns who rowed the barge steered by their suzerain, Edgar, king of the Anglo-Saxons, on the Dee at Chester to the abbey of St. John the Baptist. He is also said to have been admiral of the great naval armament of 3,000 vessels maintained by King Edgar for the protection of his dominions against the northern invaders. The last prince of Orry's line ceased to reign in 1066. Godred Crovan, son of

Harold the Black, of Iceland, then conquered the island realm. Himself a fugitive from the fatal field of Stamford Bridge in England, he avenged his own defeat by the English Harold on the brave but numerically weak Manxmen. After plundering and devastating the entire island, the majority of his soldiers returned to Norway. Godred remained and parceled out the southern part of his new possessions among those who still adhered to his banner, and the northern portion among the surviving rightful owners, on the explicit understanding "that none of them or their heirs should ever presume to claim any part of it by way of inheritance." Centuries later this arbitrary action brought deep distress upon their descendants. Afterward, in what seems to have been a civil war between the Celtic and Norwegian divisions, the former gained the advantage at the battle of Santwart. The impulsive gallantry natural to Celtic females prompted them to rush to the aid of their male compatriots. In memory of this timely re-enforcement the Manx legislature enacted that "of all goods immoveable, not having any life, the wives shall have the halfe on the north side, whereas those on the south side shall receive only one thirde."

Olave Kleining, son of Godred Crovan, did homage for his kingdom as a fief of Norway by paying a tribute of "ten marks of gold," and was crowned at Drontheim. Amiable, able, and wise, he assigned one third of the tithes to the Bishop for his maintenance, one third to the Abbey of Rushen for the education of youth and relief of the poor, and one third to the parochial clergy for their subsistence. Under Godred II. the Hebrides were severed from Man and became an independent principality. His illegitimate son Reginald, who boasted that for three continuous years he had never inhabited a house, but had always been on board his ship, next wielded the scepter with rude and savage vigor, and in 1211 acknowledged himself to be the vassal of John, king of England. Eight years later he accepted the position of a feudal dependent on the pope of Rome, and consented to pay a tribute of twelve marks sterling every year to the abbey of Furness. This, however, did not save him from death in civil war. Magnus, the ninth monarch of his dynasty, was also the last. In 1266 the Norwegian king ceded Man and the islands to the Scottish crown, "with all

right to the episcopacy of Man, and the laws, jurisdiction, and liberties of the church of Nidrosien, which the king of Norway possessed."

With this summary disposition of their lives and fortunes the Manx were dissatisfied, and at their request Edward I. of England took them under his protection in 1200. Sir Simon de Montacute next acquired the lordship of Man by deed of gift from his wife Alfrica, sister of Magnus, the last king, and transmitted it to his son and grandson, the Earls of Salisbury. The third Montacute, crowned king of Man in 1344, sold his diadem to Sir William Scrope. From his head it passed to that of Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland; and next to that of Sir John Stanley, who, in 1406, received from Henry IV. a grant of the kingdom, "with all the regalities, franchises, and rights belonging thereto, with the patronage of the bishopric, under the title of the king of Man," upon the feudal service of presenting a cast of falcons to the kings of England on the day of their coronation. This donation was not a specially lucrative one. Camden, in the sixteenth century, tells us that there were not six houses in the island that had two stories. Affairs were administered chiefly by lieutenants. The Stanleys, however, did place the tenure of land upon terms more favorable to the holders, and, in 1636, Lord Strange, acting for his father, the sixth earl of Derby, ordained that the *breast laws*, or rules and customs of which the deemsters or judges were supposed to be the depositaries, and by which they decided all matters in dispute, should be committed to writing. The second earl of Derby relinquished the title of king of Man on the ground that he preferred "to be a great lord rather than a petty king." James, the seventh earl of Derby, resided in his dominion in 1643, and governed with consummate skill. He convoked a public meeting at the Tynwald Hill, encouraged every man to state his own grievances, and promised the best remedy he could supply. They accepted the invitation, and freely vented their indignation both in Manx and English. Machiavellian as he was, the lord of Man was a judicious statesman, and projected numerous improvements in the shape of manufactures and education. Under his *regime* the obsolete arrangement of Godred Crovan bore fruit of misery and want. With that as a precedent, the earl's officers cajoled the people into a com-

promise "by which they resigned their landed property into the hands of the lord, and received it back on a lease of three lives, thus rendering their descendants, after no great number of years, mere tenants at will, without the slightest interest in the property or motive to improvement." Agriculture was neglected, scarcity frequent, famine occasional. Smuggling absorbed the energies of the people, degraded their morals, and impaired the resources of the empire. James, tenth earl of Derby and last lord of Man of the house of Stanley, persuaded by Bishop Wilson, eventually annulled this iniquitous swindle by what the Manx call the *Act of Settlement.* This is their Magna Charta. By it the landholders were confirmed in possession, and descent in perpetuity provided for on payment of certain fixed fines and rents to the lord.

In 1651 the island was surrendered to the Parliamentarians by Receiver-General William Christian, the Illiam Dhone, or "Fair-haired William," of Manx story. For this he was illegally and revengefully shot in 1662. His judicial murder furnished Sir Walter Scott with a turning-point in his romance of *Peveril of the Peak.* The earl of Derby, who had instigated the crime, escaped punishment, but the two deemsters were ordered to be committed to the King's Bench Prison and to pay all expenses incurred. Restitution of his estates was also made to the heirs of Christian.

In 1736 the lordship of Man passed, through failure of male heirs, from the Stanleys to the dukes of Athol. At this epoch the British government had long been discontented with the land tenure, the scale of import duties fixed by the Manx legislature, and the flagrant smuggling trade carried on by capitalists and sea-faring men. Added to these causes of dissatisfaction was an enactment by which residents prosecuted for foreign debts could only be held to bail for personal appearance in court, and for the production of what property they might have on the island. This injudicious measure converted the country into an Alsatia, "the sanctuary of the unfortunate and profligate of the surrounding nations, who flocked thither in such numbers as to make it a common receptacle for the basest of their kind." After tedious negotiations, John, third duke of Athol, consented to surrender, with certain reservations, his rights to the crown by an act called

the *Act of Revestment*, and received in compensation the sum of £70,000, together with an annuity of £2,000 to be paid out of the Irish revenue of the duke and duchess of Athol. For more than half a century the duke of Athol, son of the last lord of Man, held the dignity of governor-in-chief. His nephew was bishop of Sodor and Man. Both were grasping, tyrannical, and unpopular. The former asserted his ancient manorial rights, and the latter his claim to tithes on all green crops. Dangerous popular tumults ensued. In 1829 all the manorial and other privileges of the Athol family were purchased by the crown, or, in other words, by the British nation, for the sum of £416,000. Since then the civil government has been administered by a lieutenant-governor. The ancient institutions, however, are preserved intact.

The lieutenant-governor, being required to preside in the insular court of chancery, ought to be familiar with legal principles and practices. Colonel Smelt (1805–1832) and Major-General Ready, who followed him, were not thoroughly qualified for this duty. Charles Hope, a member of the English and Scotch bars, was excellently fitted for it, and proved to be an energetic and wise governor. Reform of the House of Keys, which was then a close corporation, began to be a popular desideratum. The principle of popular instead of self election to that body was stoutly advocated, but made little headway against intrenched conservatism. Francis Pigott next filled the chair vacated by resignation of Governor Hope in 1860. Dying in 1863, he was succeeded by the able, versatile, and accomplished Sir Henry Brougham Loch, now governor of Victoria. The second year (1864) of his official term was signalized by the complete triumph of popular freedom. What led up to it was, in the first place, the application of the Douglas commissioners to the House of Keys for enlarged municipal powers. John A. Brown, editor and proprietor of *The Isle of Man Times*, the leading journal of the commonwealth, to whom we are greatly indebted for material entering into the composition of this article, states that "at that time the House of Keys was a self-elected body, and when a vacancy occurred in their number they nominated two persons to the governor, who was bound to appoint one of them to the vacancy." Between the self-elected Keys and the popularly chosen commissioners

considerable antipathy existed. The application of the latter was derisively rejected. This insult was warmly resented by *Mona's Herald*, and by *The Isle of Man Times*. Their criticisms incurred the displeasure of the high and mighty Keys, who summoned the critics to answer for their conduct. J. C. Fargher, editor of *Mona's Herald*, promised to apologize, but James Brown, editor and proprietor of *The Isle of Man Times*, was of sterner stuff, and insisted that the comments of his newspaper were justifiable. The Keys thought otherwise. Having power they used it, and doomed the gallant journalist to six months' imprisonment in the grim old fortress of Castle Rushen. His son, John A. Brown, seconded by an indignant majority of the insular community, rushed to the rescue. The son's eloquent letters, published in the London journals, enlisted the hearty co-operation of the British press. The government interfered. The Court of Queen's Bench released the prisoner, and crowds of enthusiastic friends escorted him back to Douglas. Heavy damages were awarded to him for illegal imprisonment, and the crestfallen potentates of the House of Keys were mulcted to the extent of about one thousand pounds.

Governor Loch in 1865 acquired consent of the imperial treasury to the readjustment of fiscal duties upon imports, in order to the accumulation of a surplus revenue for the construction of public harbor-works. It was decided that after deducting the cost of the civil government, together with a sum of £10,000 to be paid annually into the exchequer as interest on the purchase money awarded to the duke of Athol, the surplus revenue should be at the disposal of the Tynwald court for expenditure upon public works; such expenditure, nevertheless, to be subject to the sanction of the treasury. Governor Loch insisted that augmented taxation for the contemplated improvements should be conditioned upon change in the mode of election to the House of Keys. He rightly held it to be unconstitutional that a self-elected body should levy extra taxes upon a population that did not elect the persons who taxed them. This imperatively needed reform was wrought out in 1866, and in 1867 the first popular election was held. Governor Loch resigned his office on the 14th of March, 1882, and was succeeded by Spencer Walpole, the present incumbent, on the fifth of May in the same year.

As now constituted the Isle of Man is a dependency upon the crown of Great Britain and Ireland, to which a writ of *habeas corpus* may run. It has no representative in the House of Commons, neither is it, in general, affected by acts of the imperial Parliament unless expressly named in them. All customs duties leviable therein are regulated by the assembly at Westminster. Its constitutional system, brought thither by the Scandinavian vikings, has been preserved with slight change. The miniature republics of San Marino in Italy, and Andorre in the mountain fastnesses of the Pyrenees, present no features of more curious interest. Long before England beheld the growth of her House of Commons the Manx House of Keys exercised functions in the state similar to those of the Anglo-Saxon Witenagemote, on the model of which some suppose it to have been founded. The title of Keys was probably derived from their being so frequently called upon to unlock or explain to the regnant sovereign or his deputy the mysteries of their ancient laws and customs. The number of Keys is twenty-four. These are elected under the provisions of the act of Tynwald known as the "House of Keys Election Act." By this statute the island is divided into ten electoral districts, corresponding to the six sheadings of Glanfaba, Middle, Rushen, Ayre, Garff, and Michael, and the four towns of Douglas, Ramsey, Castletown, and Peel. Each sheading or county constituency returns three representatives, the town of Douglas three, and each of the other towns one. A property qualification is demanded of each representative. He must either be possessed of insular real estate having a yearly value of £100, or of real estate worth £50 annually, together with an income of £100 per annum from personal estate. The elective franchise is based on the ownership or occupancy of a house of £4 net annual value in towns, and on a £10 occupation or £8 proprietorship in the sheadings. Besides these there is a lodger franchise which is but seldom utilized. Women having similar qualifications, and not represented by husbands, are also entitled to vote, but do not avail themselves of the privilege to any great extent. The mode of voting is by ballot, and all voters are carefully registered. The term of legislative service is seven years, but the governor may dissolve the House before the expiration of that period. Appeal

to the country may be taken as in other countries constructed on a larger scale. Parliamentary government, as it exists in the island of Great Britain and most of the colonies, Man has not. Nor are the rules governing the procedure of the House of Keys altogether unsusceptible of beneficent amendment. Every bill must receive thirteen votes—a majority of the House of Keys—in order to its passage. If only fourteen members are present when final action is taken, two dissentients are more powerful to reject than twelve consentients to enact.

The upper House or council, which loosely corresponds to the imperial House of Lords, is composed of the lord bishop of the diocese (who has a seat but not a vote in the British House of Peers), the attorney general, the two deemsters, the clerk of the rolls, the water bailiff, the archdeacon, and the vicar-general. These constitute the cabinet or privy council, and are advisers of the governor in state affairs. As legislators they either initiate legislative business, or alter, amend, or reject any bill sent to them from the lower House. Neither the public nor the press is admitted to the secret consultations of the council. Their reasons for rejecting or amending any particular bill are made known to the Keys through a conference with a deputation from that body. When sitting together in Tynwald, the two legislative bodies vote separately, and there must be a clear majority of each to carry a motion. The decisions of the Tynwald court with respect to money appropriations out of the insular revenue the governor has the power to veto. To become law a bill must pass both houses of the Manx legislature, sitting in their respective chamber, and must be signed in Tynwald by at least thirteen of the Keys, a majority of the council, and the governor. It is then forwarded for the royal assent, and if the law officers of the crown detect nothing therein that is inconsistent with constitutional provisions it receives that sanction.

Until recent times a measure did not take instant legal effect until it had been promulgated from the ancient and celebrated Tynwald Mount at St. John's. This is near Ballacraine, on the high road between Douglas and Peel, and almost in the centre of the island. The Tynwald Hill is 200 yards from the Church of St. John; is called in Manx *Cronk-y-Keillown*, that

is, "St. John's Church Hill," and is most interesting from the fact that for hundreds of years the Manx people have annually gathered round it by thousands to hear the laws read, first in English and then in the vernacular, that have been enacted during the previous year by the legislature. Tynwald, or Tingualla, as it is written in the *Chronicon Mannie*, is identical with the Thingwall of Iceland and the Thingvöllr of Denmark. It is derived from the Scandinavian *thing*, a court of justice or popular assembly; and the Icelandic *völlr*, a field, or Danish *vold*, a bank or rampart.

The Tynwald Mount is a singular artificial construction, built of earth brought together from the seventeen parishes of the island. Two hundred and fifty-six feet in circumference at the base, it rises to the height of about twelve feet by four concentric circular platforms, on the uppermost of which the governor and other dignitaries stand while a syllabus of the new statutes is read by the deemster of the northern division. The canopy which shelters them from rain and sun is held in place by seventeen ropes attached to rings in as many stones at the bottom of the hill. Tynwald day is the fifth of July, unless that happen to fall on Sunday, in which case the ceremonies are postponed till Monday. Special days may be appointed when it is not desirable to wait for the regular one. Proceedings begin with divine worship in St. John's Church at 11 A. M. This concluded, a stately official procession is formed, and marches between files of soldiers with presented arms to the Tynwald Mount. Thence all persons are warned by the coroner of Glanfaba against disturbing the court. The coroners or sheriffs—one for each sheading—are appointed annually, and are sworn into office on Tynwald day by the chief deemster or judge. Each in his own district is the *toshiagh jioarey*, that is, "the chief man of the law."

Titles and side-notes of the various measures having been read aloud, the procession returns to the church, where the promulgation of the laws is attested by attaching the signatures of the present members of the court. Business accounts of King William's College at Castletown, of the lunatic asylum, and of the high-road fund are then received, elections of members of public committees effected, the rate for the maintenance of the asylum fixed, and other public affairs transacted. In all his

official functions the governor is, of course, the lieutenant of her Imperial Majesty Queen Victoria, who by customary fiction is held to have appointed him to this service.

The judicial system of the Isle of Man is characterized by as many peculiarities as its political constitution. Up to 1867 the House of Keys exercised judicial as well as representative powers. Appeals from the verdict of juries were made thereto; but when it became a popularly elected body its appellate jurisdiction was abolished and a new appellate court created. On the first of January, 1884, under the terms of the Isle of Man Judicature Act (1883), the chancery, exchequer, staff of government, common law, and deemsters' courts were merged into the high court of justice. The admiralty or water bailiff's court is also merged therein. Manx legislative titles are as sonorous and legislative acts as plentiful as those of a modern metropolitan trades-union. Under the Ecclesiastical Civil Judicature Transfer Act (1884), the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts in respect of testamentary, administrative, and matrimonial matters was transferred to the high court. This court consists of three divisions, called respectively the chancery, common law, and staff of government division.

The history of the Manx Church, beginning with the doughty exploits of the Irish saint, is full of interest and instruction. St. German, his episcopal successor, erected churches throughout the country, including the cathedral in Peel Castle. Maughold, who next held the crosier, divided the land into parishes. He was followed by Lonnan, Connaghan, and Marown consecutively. Each seems to have ruled under an unwritten theocratic constitution. Nothing recorded of them is wholly certain. Dr. Tanner in his *Notitia Monastici*, says: "The Scotch writers contend that the Isle of Man was converted to Christianity by the care of Crathlent, King of Scotland, and that he made Amphibolus bishop there about A. D. 360." But the more generally received opinion is that St. Patrick was the successful missionary, and that he erected an episcopal see in Man about A. D. 447. St. Maughold is charged with having been the leader of Irish banditti prior to his regeneration, and is also credited with giving the veil to St. Bridget, who founded the nunnery in the lovely valley of the Dhoo Glas, not

far from the modern capital. Much of the early history of Christianity in the west is irrecoverably lost. No one positively knows how the diocese of Sodor and Man came to be so denominated. Professor Munch, editor of the ancient *Chronicle of the Kings of Man and the Islands*, derives Sodor from the Norwegian *Sudreyjar*, which means Southern Islands; others derive it from the islet once styled Holme Sodor, on which Peel Castle and St. German's Cathedral stand; and still others from Soder, a modification of the Greek *Soter*, signifying St. Saviour's, which was the title of the cathedral church of Iona.

The Isle of Man with the Western Isles was a diocese suffragan to the archbishop of Drontheim in Norway, from the twelfth century onward. This constitution was confirmed by Pope Anastasius IV. in 1154. Proximity, however, brought the Manx Church into much closer relations with the Cistercian abbey at Furness, in England, than with the Norse archiepiscopate. In 1244 Pope Innocent IV. sanctioned the election of the Manx bishops by the Furnessian community. Five Scotch prelates in succession wore the Manx miter, while their see was a feudal dependency of the Scottish crown. Mark, the first and perhaps the best, was driven out by the Manxmen, and when recalled imposed the payment of a penny for every house. This was called the "smoke penny." Curiously enough, after the lapse of several centuries, it is still collected as a perquisite by the parish clerks.

Popes and princes have always appointed the bishops of Man to their see. None have been placed there by the free election of the Church. Bishop Thomas Stanley, in 1556, was commissioned as governor of the island, and gained notoriety as a "sword-bishop"—a military commander of the priestly order. Dr. Isaac Barrow was also appointed governor-bishop in 1663, and endeared himself to the people by his liberal zeal in behalf of both clergy and laity. Bishop Wilson, enthroned in 1698, was at once an evangelist, translator, reformer, educator, statesman, and "father in Israel" to his people. Bishop Hildesley took up his unfinished work in 1755, and completed the translation of the Scriptures into the Manx language. He was often heard to say that "he only wished to live to see it finished, and then he would be happy." Several Sunday-schools were established during his episcopate, and had been successfully

conducted for years before Robert Raikes initiated the movement which clothes his memory with such radiant honor. Under the excellent Bishop Ward (1827–1838), about £13,000 was expended in the restoration of old churches and the erection of new ones. The appointment of his successor, Bishop Bowstead, was purposely postponed until after the insular legislature had provided for the commutation of tithes for the sum of £5,050, which is now apportioned between the bishop, clergy, and trustees for the benefit of clergymen's widows. Dr. Powys, appointed in 1854, was chiefly remarkable for his rooted dislike of dissenters, and for unpleasant differences with his clergy. In 1874 it was proposed to unite this bishopric with the projected one of Liverpool; but the Manx were generally opposed to it, even when the further proposition was made to increase the annual stipend of each incumbent to £300, and to provide for the payment of curates in poor districts. On the 24th of August, 1877, the Rev. Rowley Hill, D.D., was consecrated in York Minster as Bishop of Sodor and Man. He is a singularly laborious, earnest, and godly prelate, and finds favor in the eyes of all religious denominations. Deeply spiritual, keenly alive to the value of faithful pastoral work and of Sunday-school teaching, and solicitous for the prosperity of the Church, he establishes his claim to the apostolical succession by open-air preaching to large crowds when his diminutive diocese is full of summer visitors.

Unlike the Church of England, "the Manx Church possesses and exercises the privilege of meeting in convocation without license, let, or hinderance, and therein discussing freely her wants and grievances without fear of the penalty of *Præmunire*." This privilege has never been in abeyance. It has been judiciously used, and with excellent results.

The staff of Episcopal clergy in the Isle of Man consists of the bishop, archdeacon, 4 deans, 31 vicars and rectors (including the deans), and 14 curates. The number of church sittings it provides is 17,210. New parochial districts are formed, as need requires, by the seven Church commissioners appointed under the "Church Act of 1880." The literary and theological training of candidates for ordination, whether graduates of the Sodor and Man Theological School or not, is of inferior standard to that in use among the Wes-

leyan Methodists. A Manx Church fund for improving the material condition of the Establishment; an impropriate fund yielding about £700 yearly to churches, schools, and buildings; the royal bounty of £100 per annum granted by Charles II.; the episcopal and clerical endowment fund, and the tithe rent charge of about £4,860 yearly, constitute—together with sundry trusts and glebes—the means of maintenance to the clergy. In benevolent, missionary, and Sunday-school societies, the Manx Church exhibits commendable and decided interest. The relation between Church and State is not sufficiently close to be of service to either. Were they wholly separated, it would doubtless be to the advantage of both. The insular statutes relating to the Church and clergy are similar to those of all lands in which the Church is subordinated to the State and exchanges spiritual and disciplinary independence for the emoluments and distinctions of the highest department of the civil service.

Methodism was introduced into the Isle of Man in 1758, by Mr. John Murlin, who was followed by Mr. John Crook, subsequently known as the "Apostle of the Isle of Man." John Wesley regarded the country as the garden of evangelical Christianity. Many of the primitive chapels were very unpretentious buildings. Most of them have been superseded by larger and more commodious structures, that will bear comparison with those of any other land. The new Rosemount Wesleyan Chapel in Douglas is ideally adapted to the wants of a cultured, godly, and prosperous community. Upward of seventy-five sanctuaries furnish accommodations for worship to about 3,200 members of the Church and more than 5,000 Sunday-school pupils. The number of sittings provided is over 14,000.

The Primitive Methodists entered the island in 1822, when Mr. John Butcher was employed to evangelize it. Since then their numbers have exceedingly increased. Over forty places of worship, including the beautiful church on the Loch Promenade at Douglas, provide accommodation for over 9,000 worshipers, among whom are about 1,500 members and over 3,000 Sunday scholars.

The adherents of Methodism are vastly more numerous than those of the Church by law established, and could easily alter

the political complexion of the sturdy little commonwealth were they disposed to wield the power already in their hands. Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Roman Catholics have each a numerically small following among the people, but are doing what they may in furtherance of their own ecclesiastical interests.

Superstition dies hard among the Manx. "They are believers in charms," remarked a curate familiar with the legends and beliefs of the country folk. The fact is, that the language of every nation is a mottled monumental record of its former faith in supernatural beings, magic, and demonology. The Druidical circles scattered over the island indicate the distant source of many mythical beliefs. Satyrs, fauns, wood-nymphs, naiads, are unknown to Manx folk-lore. Not so with mermen and mermaids. A very beautiful specimen of the latter—half woman half fish—is said by the historian Waldron to have been captured, and to have pined in captivity. When released, she swiftly plunged into the sea, and there replied to relatives who inquired what she had observed among the people of the earth: "Nothing very wonderful; but they are so ignorant as to throw away the water in which they have boiled their eggs." Who brought back this report it has not occurred to the credulous to inquire. The roofless condition of St. Trinian's Church is said by Manx legend to be due to a malicious *buggane*, or evil spirit, who fiendishly laughed when he threw down the roof as often as it neared completion. The *Moddy Dhoo*, or "specter-hound," that used to haunt Peel Castle, and that froze the blood of William of Deloraine; the fairies of Ballaconney Bridge; and the *Phynnoderee*, or hairy satyr, who is "spiteful terrible" if not permitted to have his own way in his lonely wanderings, were shuddering realities to the homely folk, whose descendants have not entirely discarded all faith in their existence.

The morals of the Manx are as good as, and, indeed, much better than might have been anticipated in view of the violent blending of populations by wars and conquests, the dislocation of moral ideas incident to iniquitous acts of proprietary governors, the former smuggling avocations of the adventurous, the lengthened sojourn of fugitives from justice, and the influx of one hundred and twenty thousand visitors every summer. The

religious and ethical teaching of the clergy, and more particularly of the Methodists, has been and is illustrated by the pure and beneficent morality of their lives. The slums of Douglas are not enticing to pedestrians; but they are not the hiding-places of depravity and crime, nor sinks of infamy and debauchery. John A. Brown is sustained by many witnesses in the statement "that people more strictly honest, more upright in conversation and character, and further removed from vice and iniquity than the poorer classes of Manxmen it would be impossible to find in these dominions." The dwellers on the hills and in the vales, outside the towns, are physically a fine, sturdy race, of medium height, and strongly built. The faces of the men, bronzed by exposure to sea and weather, are evidences of robust health. Nor does the nut-brown hue of the rural women betoken more need of medicinal aid. In certain districts all the men are fishermen or sailors. As a rule each man inherits or rents a small section of land, which he cultivates in the intervals of fishing. "As a race, they are quiet, sober, law-loving, law-abiding men, strongly influenced by deep religious feeling. Intemperance is rare, and crimes of violence are altogether unknown among them." The reality of their religious profession is demonstrated by the fact that during the fishing season "no boat ever puts out to sea either on Saturday or Sunday; the Sabbath is kept among this primitive people entirely free from all worldly pursuits." Strongly conservative, loving the ways of their forefathers, and disliking innovations of every kind, each is prompt to say, "What did for my father, will do for me." Indefatigable toilers upon the land, and tireless mariners when at sea, they are nevertheless destitute of the enterprise which the competitive life of urban communities so surely fosters.

Education in the Isle of Man owes its most forcible impulse to the "Great Earl" of Derby, who was executed at Bolton-le-Moors in 1651. He planned a university for the Manx and surrounding nations. Bishop Barrow and subsequent benefactors entered into his designs, and strove to embody them. On August 1, 1833, the stately King William's College at Castletown first opened its door for the reception of students. It has a good theological, classical, and general library, and a large collection of Manx fossils. Scholarships, of the institu-

tion, and four "exhibitions" or appropriations to students at Oxford, Cambridge, and Dublin Universities, are annually given to deserving youths. Over 230 boys in attendance are prepared for the universities, public examinations for admission to the army, navy, and civil service, for professional studies, and for mercantile and other pursuits. The Holy Bible and the Christian religion hold reverenced place in the college, while physical culture receives due scientific study. Endowed grammar schools at Castletown, Douglas, Peel, and Ramsey do much to fit their students for service to the country in Church and State. A school committee in every town and parish acts in unison with the board of education for the Isle of Man. £6,045 17*s* were expended for popular educational purposes in the year ending March 31, 1886. The several religious denominations also maintain schools where practicable, and receive state aid. Some schools are organized on the board, others on the national, and others on the sectarian plan. All are subject to examination by her majesty's inspectors, and are partly dependent upon their report for the pecuniary pabulum necessary to sturdy growth. The entire school system, so far as it is maintained by the public, ought to be simplified. Doubtless it is a vast improvement on the no-system of past centuries, but still it is susceptible of greater efficiency. Attendance at school is compulsory. The demand for it is a prophecy of better things in the years to come.

The military establishment is commensurate with the need for it. A small detachment of regular troops is stationed at Castle Rushen. The captains of militia in the seventeen parishes are abundantly competent to meet the demands of a service whose severest duty is that of gracing the formalities of Tynwald day.

How to reconcile local with national interests and feelings is one of the problems of state-craft. Since the awakening of local public spirit, the Manx have been thoroughly loyal to the "dear little isle." Nor have they been less loyal to the British empire. Breathing the air of unfettered freedom, shielded from danger by the might of the suzerain, and largely planning their own future, they have prospered exceedingly in every respect.

The highways of a nation, if constructed by it, correspond to its strength and vitality. Those of the Manx are scarcely capa-

ble of improvement, and reflect great credit upon the highway board and its surveyors. The railroads are of the narrow (three feet) gauge, admirably built, and extend from Douglas via Castletown to Port Erin, near the southern extremity of the island; from Douglas to Peel on the western coast; and from St. John's on the latter line to Ramsey. A short branch from St. John's conducts to the heart of the Foxdale mining region. Other lines are projected.

Agriculture is up to the average English standard in respect of scientific skill and thoroughness. The augmenting influx of summer visitors, by raising the price of cereal, pastoral, and agricultural products, has greatly enhanced the value of land. Much of the 130,000 acres embraced in the island is not cultivable. Until recently the mountains, which for the most part constitute the common lands, were almost inaccessible and totally uncultivated. Small farmers, occupying adjacent homesteads, used them principally for sheep-grazing. Seven years ago, her majesty's Commissioners of Woods, Forests, and Land Revenues claimed them. The Commoners stoutly disputed the claim. Ultimately the controversy was settled by legislative enactment. Land to the extent of 8,573 acres was sold, and a sum of more than £25,000 thus raised to build excellent roads through wild tracts of picturesque scenery. The remainder of the common lands, in all about 17,000 acres, was divided between the Commoners and the crown. The allotment of the former is vested in a popularly elected body of six men, known as the Commons' trustees. Nearly thirty miles of splendid new roads now facilitate business and pleasure, and enable the vision to take in rare vistas of exquisite beauty and grandeur.

The net annual value of the island, as assessed some years ago, was £215,585. Since then it has grown rapidly, but even now is far from being so large as the income of an American railroad hundred-millionaire. The ordinary governmental revenue for the year ending March, 31, 1886, was £55,552.

In minerals the Isle of Man is not particularly rich. Available coal is absent. The great Laxey lead mines have been worked for centuries and yield as valuably as ever. The "Lady Isabella" overshot water-wheel has a diameter of seventy-two feet six inches, breadth of six feet, and pumping power of 250 gallons per minute, from a depth of more than 200 fathoms.

It is the mechanical pride of the natives, and is claimed to be the largest in the world. Mines are rented from the queen, as lady of the manor. During 1881 those in six different places yielded 5,675 tons of lead ore, including 84,865 ounces of silver, and valued at £76,513. Copper and zinc deposits are profitably worked, and in 1881 gave employment to 1,258 miners.

The island ought to be a paradise for the disciples of Izaak Walton. Trout are abundant in the translucent purling streams of the interior. Some of the fish, native to the Manx coast, and bearing the names of *callig* and *blocken*, or *bloggan*, are strange to the curious visitor. *Scadden*, or herrings, are among the chief food-blessings, and are caught, kippered, consumed, and exported in immense quantities. Peel, alone, has a capital of £100,000 invested in about 200 fishing vessels, manned by nearly 2,000 men and boys.

In the warm summer months the island is a colony of hotels and boarding-houses, in which the sturdy Britisher luxuriates in unheard-of costumes, and with an *abandon* in startling contrast to his usual staid and methodical habits. It would hardly be correct to repeat as a truth what is sometimes heard on the spot, that the people live on visitors in the summer, and on each other in the remaining three fourths of the year. But it is wholly correct to state that the visitors are a source of large wealth to the visited. It is with a view to the comfort and pleasure of the former, and through them of the latter, that the enormous harbor improvements accomplished within the past decade have been effected. Imperial and insular legislation combined to clothe the commissioners of the harbor board and officers with extensive powers, and to substitute the magnificent piers and superb sea-walls of Douglas and other towns for the miserable mud-banks and aching backs of boatmen which confronted the visitors less than a quarter of a century ago. The Queen Victoria Landing Pier, and the Battery Pier Breakwater at Douglas, are models of massive and scientific construction. The semicircular Loch Promenade of Douglas, with its back-ground of tasteful houses and public buildings, and with the heather and gorse-tufted hills in the distance, is brightly suggestive of the ampler space, sunnier skies, and loftier eminences that encircle the celebrated Bay of Naples.

Art. V.—GOD IN HUMAN CONSCIOUSNESS.

Writers on theology and natural religion, in presenting the proofs of the existence of God, have usually commenced with an argument founded on the general consent of mankind. So universal is the belief in a divinity that the most which skeptical science can venture is to raise the question whether somewhere on the wide earth a tribe has not been found without a sense of religious obligation; and it is not made certain that even one such tribe has been discovered in all the history of our race.

While this argument has been employed, it has not been specially emphasized, and the *consensus gentium* has not been carefully traced to its source. This universal belief of mankind cannot be regarded as a result of the other lines of evidence, for in that case it would not be a separate argument, but a conclusion reached by a chain of reasoning. On the contrary, this universal idea of God dates back to primitive times, before men began to reason on the subject, and is found to be entertained with equal persistence by the most degraded tribes, which have hardly reached the level of the reasoning process. The ethnic religions have never concerned themselves with proofs of the existence of God, but have calmly rested on the assumption of his universal presence.

At the present time an effort is in progress to bring to view the philosophical grounds and characteristics of this universal belief. The trend of thought is toward a recognition of the sense of God in human consciousness as the basis of the general consent of mankind—a line of thought that has not been properly emphasized. Professor Samuel Harris, of Yale College, has published an elaborate work on *The Self-Revelation of God*, in which the evidences of theism are re-stated, the first part of the volume being devoted to an exposition of the religious consciousness. Professor Frank, of the University of Erlangen, in a work on *Christian Certainty*, discusses the same theory, but approaches the subject from the side of the individual religious experience. Dr. Charles Hodge, of Princeton, in his *Systematic Theology*, gives larger space to this theory than is usual in theological discussions. Dr. Cocker,

also, in his treatise on *Christianity and Greek Philosophy*, traced religion back to primitive ideas; and recent works on theism give special emphasis to this line of thought.

Different terms are employed, by various writers, in the exposition of the theory, such as "Christian consciousness," "God-consciousness," "religious intuition," "primitive belief in the existence of God;" but they are all intended to present substantially the one thought that God has somehow made an unmistakable impression of his existence and presence in human consciousness. The thought is not that of Schleiermacher, so eloquently presented to American readers by Dr. Newman Smyth, that religion has its origin in feeling—a view which seems to overlook the fact that nothing can appear in the sensibility that is not in the intellect—but rather that God has lodged in the human mind an idea of his existence, which is necessarily grasped by the cognitive faculties.

Proof of the existence of God pre-supposes an idea of God already in the mind; and the question has been soberly raised, Is a revelation of God to man possible? We may well doubt whether man can find God; but it seems childish to ask whether God can unmistakably reveal himself to man. The idea of God must proceed from God; man could not originate it any more than he could originate the idea of a river or a mountain. God must take the initiative in human cognition of Deity. Dr. Tayler Lewis has pointedly said:

> The infinite can have its finite aspect. The infinite may enter into and act in the finite; may assume the finite. The denial of this is, in fact, the denial of the infinite. It is virtually saying that God cannot do all things; that because we cannot ascend to him, therefore he cannot come down to us.*

It would be strange indeed if such a God as we believe in were unable to speak to his creatures, and so speak that they could know his voice, and readily distinguish it from all other voices. On the contrary, it is not supposable that such a Being could exist and men not be aware of the fact. Such a God must fill the universe so full as to touch all things, and press against all things, and leave intelligent beings no option but to know his existence. Without any danger of pantheism, may it not well be that Deity is so closely allied to us, so

* *Science and the Scriptures*, p. 239.

broods over us and dwells in us, that, while consciousness is teaching us the fact of our own existence, it cannot do less than teach us the divine existence at the same time? "Without the God-consciousness, self-consciousness can never be fully realized." * "The development of man's consciousness of himself in his relation to the world is the development of his consciousness of God." †

It is sometimes asserted that an original belief in God is the characteristic of ignorant and primitive peoples; but the fact is, that such belief is the common heritage of mankind, and only those escape it who bewilder themselves by a species of metaphysical jugglery. Men have pursued philosophical speculations until they were so befogged as to deny the reality of the material universe and the reality of their own existence, and it is no wonder that they have likewise denied the existence of God. The belief in God is spontaneous, whereas atheism has to be cultivated by a process of metaphysical discipline. Theism is universal and persistent, atheism exists only in sporadic cases among those who have bewildered themselves by speculation. The former is a hardy plant, and finds the human mind a rich soil; while the latter is a plant of sickly growth which does not find in human nature the elements necessary to a vigorous existence.

If the God of the Bible has an existence, how would he reveal himself to rational beings? If men were asked to outline a system of evidence that would be conclusive and satisfactory, what would it be? It is doubtful whether the most querulous could suggest an argument to prove the existence of God which is not already included in Christian theism. It is significant that those philosophers who have denied the existence of God have contented themselves with asserting that if such a Being exists he is necessarily unknowable. They offer no amendments to the chain of Christian evidences. Theism is the best answer humanity has been able to give to this question; and an original impression in consciousness is the germ from which the system has grown.

It is, perhaps, unfortunate that the precise meaning of one of the most important words used in the exposition of this line of

* Newman Smyth, *Religious Feeling*, p. 108.

† Professor Harris, *Philosophical Basis of Theism*, p. 14.

theistic evidence has not been accurately defined. All metaphysical writers feel impressed to attempt a definition of consciousness, but they contradict each other with great cordiality and thoroughness, while some are frank enough to confess that they cannot furnish the exact signification of the term. Indeed, Hamilton declares that a definition of consciousness is impossible, but speaks of it as the "recognition by the mind of its acts and affections," * yet not different from those acts and affections. Elsewhere he calls it "the mind's cognizance of its own operations." He seems to view it as a kind of wholesale phrase covering the totality of the mind's acts and states. It is commonly regarded as a depository of spontaneous ideas—a treasury where the eternal verities are stored. Philosophers are wont to say, in verification of some statement, Let us enter our own consciousness and see whether we find this idea there. †

To say that we find certain ideas in consciousness can mean no more than that we find them in the human mind, or that the mind has the power directly to recognize and embrace those ideas; or, more precisely, that the mind is so constituted as to necessarily receive and hold those ideas. In the use of the word consciousness we mistake a logical term for a reality, just as is the case when we speak of the faculties of the mind. The modicum of truth in all these pretentious metaphysical terms is, that the human mind has certain capabilities, and among them that of grasping various great ideas without a process of reasoning. These primitive ideas are called the furniture of consciousness. In the progress of metaphysical investigation the term consciousness may fall into disuse, but the fact will remain that the human mind has the power to grasp these original ideas.

The common mind is, perhaps, as competent as the philosophical to reach the meaning of the word. We constantly affirm ourselves conscious of such things, or we say that certain facts are furnished in our consciousness, but we will find it very difficult to attach a definite meaning to these terms. At the same time there is a general interpretation of the words *conscious* and *consciousness* as designating a particular mental state or operation, and men, after some fashion, understand each other when these terms are employed.

* *Metaphysics*, p. 126. † Cocker, *Theistic Conception of the World*, p. 35.

While this vagueness of meaning exists, the term consciousness has, nevertheless, been employed in two senses which are quite distinct. Professor Harris very clearly states the distinction:

> Consciousness as used in the earlier Scotch philosophy, and commonly in Great Britain and America, means the mind's immediate knowledge of its own mental states and acts, or, at most, the mind's knowledge of itself in those states and acts. In this narrower meaning of the word, it is not correct to say that we are conscious of God, or that he is present in our consciousness. In German philosophy consciousness is used in a broader sense to denote the intuitive, undiscriminated knowledge of both object and subject, the immediate knowledge in one and the same act of the object known and the subject knowing. Hamilton introduced this usage into Great Britain, maintaining, to use his own example, that a man may be conscious of his ink-stand. In popular language, consciousness is used with this broader meaning.*

It is in this latter and wider sense that the term consciousness is employed for the purposes of this discussion. The use of the word as covering the ground of the cognition of other beings and of natural objects is coming to be more and more recognized.

To say that God is known in human consciousness, in the restricted meaning of the term, would threaten the distinction between God and man; while in the wider sense the reality of both object and subject is fully recognized. It is not meant that the reason, by immediate vision, perceives God in all the completeness of his character, but that an impression of a divine existence, an idea of some superhuman power, is present in the mind. This primitive idea is vague and ill-defined, but furnishes the intellect a starting point and a stimulus in the development of a system of theism.

This "God-consciousness" is not a separate faculty of the mind—a "faith-faculty," as it is sometimes called. Much of our religio-philosophizing makes man a mental monstrosity —conscience and a "religious faculty" clinging to the mind as excrescences. Man knows God as he knows other things—through the operation of his mental powers.

> If any one is certain, from the operations of his own mind, or in any other way, that there is such a thing as what we may please to call the Infinite, then he knows it as he knows other

* *Self-Revelation of God*, p. 30.

things. And if so let him say so, and not run the whole subject into mysticism by attributing it to a mysterious principle called faith, and then opposing faith to knowledge.*

If an intuition of God exists in the human mind it is present just as an intuition of space or cause is present, and is recognized in precisely the same way.

All that is meant is that the mind is so constituted that it perceives certain things to be true without proof, and without instruction. †

And the existence of some kind of Deity is one of these primitive truths. Dr. Cocker expresses the thought in a single sentence:

Inasmuch as man is a religious being, the instincts and emotions of his nature constraining him to worship, there must also be implanted in his rational nature some original *a priori* ideas or laws of thought which furnish the necessary cognition of the object of worship; that is, some native spontaneous cognition of God. ‡

The substance of the thought is, that among the primitive furnishings of human consciousness is an idea of some supreme being, vague and imperfect it may be, but a vital germ from which a satisfactory knowledge of God may be developed. Man, in the legitimate use of his intellectual powers, starts with this original idea, and never halts until, aided by other forms of revelation, he reaches a complete theism. Lotze well expresses the necessity of both reason and revelation in order to attain a complete conception of Deity:

If reason is not of itself capable of finding the highest truth, but, on the contrary, stands in need of a revelation which is either contained in some divine act of historic occurrence or is continually repeated in men's hearts, still reason must be able to understand the revealed truth at least so far as to recognize in it the satisfying and convincing conclusion of those upward-soaring trains of thought which reason itself began, led by its own needs, but was not able to bring to an end. §

But the revelation of God in human consciousness does not cease with a presentation of the primitive idea of his existence.

* Dr. Mark Hopkins's *Outline Study of Man*, p. 78.

† Dr. Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, vol. i, p. 192.

‡ *Christianity and Greek Philosophy*, p. 165.

§ *Microcosmus*, vol. ii, p. 660.

We should anticipate more or less of communion between the Supreme Spirit and subordinate spirits during the entire history of their relations. If God is the infinite Being we take him to be, his very presence in the universe must put a continual pressure on his creatures. In all stages of the process by which man reaches a clear conception of the God of the Bible, and a personal sense of his favor, the religious consciousness is a potential factor. The revelation of God to man is necessarily progressive and limited, because God is infinite and man finite, and at every step the divine presence is manifest to close all gaps in the evidence, and insure certainty.

In addition to the spontaneous idea in consciousness, God ceaselessly maintains communication with man through those laws of the mind by which the processes of thought and feeling are carried forward. Man's mental operations are not independent of God. The God-ward side of metaphysics is not commonly recognized, or even understood. We speak of the laws of thought and feeling which regulate all our mental processes, and are apt to halt at the laws, forgetting that when we touch law we touch God, or rather that God touches us through law. The operations of the human intellect and sensibility are so superintended by Deity that the proper conditions are furnished for the wise exercise of free choice. And while God influences man normally through the laws of the intellect and sensibility, right thoughts and feelings are insured, and the exercise of free-will made possible. Men touch God by these two faculties, the intellect and sensibility, and through them he is ceaselessly conveying a knowledge of himself and his will.

There is evidence of the presence of God in all the processes of thought and feeling—evidence that he puts his approval on correct thought and feeling, and stamps the opposite with disapproval. We find something very like conscience in all the operations of the mind. If a chain of argument is complete, though it may have no relation to morals or religion, the mind finds a satisfaction in it which is akin to the approval of conscience. If, however, a link in the chain be missing the intellect experiences a sense of unrest and dissatisfaction analogous to the disapproval of conscience. The intellect is offended when the eternal principles of truth are violated.

God speaks to the intellect, and there is mental disquiet when his voice is not heeded. A similar disturbance may be traced in the sensibility when the proper emotions of the mind are outraged. God presses upon men the necessity of correct thought and right feeling, and furnishes a back-ground for all their mental operations.

The revelation of God in the human mind is intensified at certain points, and there we can study it to best advantage. In the consideration of questions relating to morals and religion the mind seems to be especially conscious of contact with the divine. Through the conscience God speaks to men in the interests of good morals. Conscience cannot be regarded as a separate faculty of the mind, but rather a name for one of the mind's operations. Dr. Cocker says:

> Conscience and consciousness may be regarded as in some respects identical. . . . Consciousness expresses self-knowledge in general. Conscience expresses self-knowledge in relation to responsibility. Consciousness is the recognition by the thinking subject of its own states and affections. Conscience is the knowledge of an act or an affection as having some moral quality—as being right or wrong.*

Dr. McCosh calls the decisions of conscience "moral cognitions," † which is a very happy phrase.

All the affirmations respecting conscience, reduced to their lowest terms, simply indicate that the mind of man is so constituted as to perceive moral distinctions—the difference between right and wrong—just as it is so constituted as to perceive mathematical distinctions—the difference, for instance, between a circle and a square. There is no objection to saying that man has a moral nature, nor is there any objection to saying that he has a mathematical nature.

> The sense of obligation in itself is, like the sense of logical sequence, elementary, and, like it, is part and parcel of our mental constitution. ‡

To say that man has a conscience is merely to say that the human mind is so constructed as to discern the difference between right and wrong, and feel a pleasure in doing the right, but a pain in doing the wrong. And, furthermore, it is so consti-

* *Theistic Conception of the World*, p. 373. † *Intuitions of the Mind*, p. 251.
‡ Duke of Argyle, *Unity of Nature*, p. 315.

tuted that it refers right and wrong to the authority of a higher Being, and interprets the pleasure or pain as, in substance, the favor or disfavor of this higher Being. So that man clearly touches God in the conscience, and adds to the fact of his existence the important discovery that he is a Being who loves the right and hates the wrong, and holds men to the same attitude toward them. It must suffice here to say, without argument, that the principles of right are not found in the nature of things, nor in the arbitrary will of God, but inhere in the character of the Divine Being. Lotze well says, "that eternal truths are neither antecedent norms nor subsequent products of the divine activity; but are nothing else than the actual form of this very energizing."* And Dr. Frank says, in substance, that if morality is not traced back to a person it vanishes.†

The operations of the human mind take place along the lines indicated by the intellect, sensibility, and will, and what is termed conscience must find its place within the bounds of these categories. Conscience involves the activity of both the intellect and the sensibility. There is the intellectual ability to distinguish right from wrong, and a powerful emotion, pleasant or unpleasant, in the practice of right or wrong. The prevalent custom in metaphysical discussions of separating the mind into faculties has often resulted in confusion. These "faculties" simply stand for powers of the mind, and a plain statement, in common language, is, that the human mind is capable of distinguishing right from wrong, and of feeling pleasure or pain when it does right or wrong.

This capability is the preparation in man for a revelation of God as the great Lawgiver. Here is one of the sensitive points in man's nature, where the pressure of Deity is most readily felt. The impress of a righteous God can be read in the constitution of man's mind. Along the channel of the intellect, when all the conditions of thought are fulfilled, comes the clear cognition of right and wrong, while the sensibility stirs with a profound emotion friendly to the right and hostile to the wrong. Divine fingers ceaselessly sweep these two strings of the complex harp of the human mind, awakening a blissful melody of right thought and right feeling, that man

* *Philosophy of Religion*, p. 92. † *Christian Certainty*, p. 317.

may never unknowingly or pleasurably do wrong. Conscience is the voice of God, then, in the sense that the laws of its operation are really the pressure of Deity on the human mind in the interests of righteousness.

God is also especially revealed to men in religious experience, which has its roots in consciousness. "Experience is the outgrowth of consciousness, as consciousness is the ground of experience."* Religion is founded on the idea of communion between man and God, the worshiper and the Being worshiped. Religion is the establishment and maintenance of proper relations between God and his intelligent creatures, and these relations imply knowledge and communion. Doubtless God touches man most intimately and tenderly in his religious life; and the reality of his religious experience he will not suffer to be challenged.

While the religious experience peculiar to Christianity is the highest and noblest to which man has attained, it is nevertheless true that the same sense of communion with Deity, less rich and not clearly defined, is discernible among the pagan religions. Undoubtedly the grandest illustration of this, as well as the richest fruit of heathenism, is to be found in the life of Socrates, who opened many of his most profound philosophical discussions with prayer for divine guidance. "Many professed Christian writers, both metaphysicians and theologians, might here take a lesson from the heathen philosopher."† Socrates likewise claimed the inspiration of a special divinity in the choice and prosecution of his vocation, and what Christian will venture to declare that he was deluded? Many other noted men among the heathen have traced greatness and goodness in man to a celestial source. Cicero's famous saying, "No man was ever great without some divine afflatus," may stand by the side of Seneca's, "No one is a good man without God."

The personal religious experience commences with a conviction of sin, and this is nothing less than the voice of God sounding ominously in the human soul. The sense of sin is universal. It may be so rudimentary as to escape accurate definition among those farthest removed from the light of Christianity, but a consciousness of unworthiness is upon mankind,

* Dr. Mendenhall, *Plato and Paul*, p. 678.

† Dr. Tayler Lewis, *Plato against the Atheists*, p. 148.

and it is received as a divine condemnation. And this recognition of sin takes more definite shape and assumes greater power as men emerge from ignorance and barbarism, until, under the Christian system, it is accepted as unquestionably the voice of God calling on men to forsake the ways of sin and walk in the paths of righteousness. Unconverted men confess that the Spirit of God moves with mighty power upon their souls. Men who still resist God, and refuse to obey him, make no secret of the fact that a divine influence presses upon them with persistence and authority. Their intellects are cleared; the breast-work of doubts and cavils behind which they were hiding is swept away; they see the truth; they are conscious that God reasons with them, overmatching them in the argument, and leaving them no alternative but to know their duty. And the sensibility is stirred to its profoundest depths. Emotions of hope, fear, longing, apprehension, seethe and rage within them like an angry flame. They are conscious that God is the source of this commotion. Though resisting the pressure, and under every motive to construe it away, they do not doubt that God convicts them of sin, and urges them to a life of holiness. Such experiences have been common to Christendom for eighteen hundred years. And these are not the testimonies of Christians only, who might be interested to bolster the validity of religious experience, but also of men who refuse to be experimental Christians—who fight and resist these impressions until they are withdrawn. Yet they express no doubt that God spoke to them in the clear sense of duty, the awful burden of responsibility, and the fierce emotions that accompanied conviction of sin. These men would be glad to believe themselves mistaken, but the testimony of consciousness leaves them no choice. The entire history of what is termed "conviction" is a compact argument, attested by saint and sinner, for the validity of a revelation of God in human consciousness.

From conviction God urges men on to regeneration, and every-where declares himself against sin, and on the side of holiness. An intelligent man, accustomed to interpret his mental states, will one hour declare that the displeasure of God rests upon him on account of his sin, and the next hour he will assert, with equal assurance, that his sins are forgiven, and

he is restored to the favor of his Maker. The same voice which uttered words of condemnation and filled the mind with gloom and sorrow now speaks in approval, and divine peace rests on the soul. And, accompanying this change of feeling, is a radical change of thought and purpose respecting religious questions, showing that the operations of the mind have been readjusted by some higher power in the interests of righteousness. And this change results not in a transient mood, but a permanent state of holiness; the life is sanctified by it and the character beautified. The man is certain that he himself did not accomplish this transformation. He is equally assured that it did not proceed from any human source. He ascribes it to a divine power; and while he willingly holds himself under this power the change abides; but if, in the exercise of his freedom, he withdraws from under this higher influence, the change lapses, and he returns to his original state of sin and condemnation. Millions of conversions, in the history of Christianity, attest the whole or a part of this religious experience. Dr. Frank uses an admirable illustration:

> If the spectral analysis has succeeded, by dint of observing the broken light in the spectrum, in pointing out to a certain extent the chemical constituents of the solar body, inasmuch as the sunlight shining around us, and enabling us to see, is no other than that which has beamed forth from the sun, why should it be contradictory and unfeasible to read in the spectrum of the regenerate human personality, and to recognize what that sun is whence the rays proceed which enter there?*

Accompanying this extensive change from conviction of sin to entire sanctification, and certifying its every phase, is the witness of the Spirit, which is nothing less than the voice of God assuring us of our religious condition and relations. Christians in all ages have agreed that God does testify in the human soul respecting sin, its dangers and woes, and respecting holiness and the hopes and joys resulting therefrom. These are experiences that transpire in human consciousness, and Christians of all ages and races, the learned and unlearned, the thoughtful and thoughtless, have an unshaken confidence in them, and smile at those who raise the cry of delusion.

Is the religious experience of the past eighteen hundred years, in connection with the spread of Christianity, a reality,

* *Christian Certainty*, p. 298.

or is it a baseless chimera? This experience claims to be a continuous and wide-spread revelation of God in human consciousness—his power to convict of sin, deliver from sin, and give assurance of salvation. To deny that God speaks in human consciousness is to discredit religious experience, and convict all Christians of fanaticism. If Christian experience be a delusion, then we can be sure of nothing that takes place in the human mind. The entire contents of consciousness must share the fate of religious experience. The intellect pursues a train of reasoning, and experiences a supreme satisfaction in reaching a logical conclusion; a mother looks on her new-born babe with an intense yearning of affection; as the eye surveys a beautiful landscape, a delightful emotion is awakened in the mind; a man contemplates the character of God, and his soul is filled with awe, reverence, and love. If one of these mental states can be singled out as unreliable, the others are left without foundation; all our subjective experiences are untrustworthy, and human life itself is a delusion. And with the subjective experience vanishes the objective reality. If we cannot know the experiences of consciousness as real we cannot know the mind itself as real. God, self, the universe, are abandoned, and we launch into a dreary agnosticism.

Thus far a bare statement has been given of the theory of the "religious consciousness." Two questions will at once arise for consideration:

First, has it validity? The answer to this question must be, that the theory can be valid merely for those who accept it. If any man looks into his consciousness and can find there no spontaneous idea of God, and no evidence that divine influences have been exerted upon him, it will matter not though a million other men aver the opposite, the theory has no validity for him. He may receive the testimony of others, but at best it is a mere matter of hearsay. Subjective experiences have little meaning outside of the mind where they originate. If, however, on comparison, many men find themselves possessed of a like experience, its trustworthiness is greatly confirmed thereby, and the man who has it not is left in an exceptional position. He may nevertheless be interested in the historical fact that men have almost universally found a spontaneous idea of God in consciousness, together with a conscience and a

sense of unworthiness; and those accepting Christianity in all its fullness have heard the voice of God in conviction, regeneration, and the witness of the Spirit.

The second question is, granting the validity of the theory, what is its value? The objection will be promptly made that it is inadequate to the demands of theism. The answer is, that it is not intended to supersede the other evidences, but to supplement and enrich them. It will require all the arguments to identify the God furnished in consciousness with the Absolute of philosophy, the God of nature, and the God of the Bible; and even then, to some minds, the chain of evidence will not be complete. The impression in consciousness furnishes to theism a philosophical starting-point, and, in the use of his powers of reason, man must proceed from this beginning to a fully developed system. He must inquire whether God has made other revelations to verify and interpret this spontaneous belief. The God presented in consciousness is by no means the perfect and glorious Being revealed in Scripture, and a long chain of evidence is necessary to connect the two, and show that they are not inconsistent with each other.

> Just as sensation needs reason to interpret and arrange it, and without reason remains chaotic, so the feeling of the divine needs reason to interpret it; and without reason and conscience it remains a confused suspicion of an object which can be neither escaped nor understood. But just as sensation is an absolute condition of perception, so this feeling of God is the absolute condition of theistic belief. The reflective reason does not originate it, but justifies and rectifies it. The arguments for theism have never originated the belief, but have only aimed to give reasons for the belief already there.*

The uncertainty in the line of evidence for the existence of God appears most positively as we advance from the primitive idea, which is marked not only by universality but by some degree of uniformity. When men, in the exercise of their reasoning faculties, and in the use of the materials furnished in philosophy, nature, and human history, attempt to develop the germ furnished in consciousness into a complete theology, very great diversity at once appears. The imagination plays a conspicuous part, and bedecks the solid certainties of consciousness with fantastic ornaments. That the content of consciousness

* Bowne, *Studies in Theism*, p. 81.

may be erroneously interpreted and developed, the ethnic religions afford ample proof. The Greek, starting with the original idea, developed Olympian Zeus, with his anger, lust, and power. The Hindus, from the same beginning, found their way to cruel, bloodthirsty Kali. The same germ in the Scandinavian mind grew into the warrior god Odin. And, not content with a single divinity, each system developed its peculiar pantheon. The Christian, from the spontaneous impression in consciousness, feels his way, by various arguments, to the Infinite, the God of nature, and the God of the Bible, and seeks to identify them. In the use of his reasoning faculties he connects, as best he is able, the revelation presented as a primitive idea in consciousness, with all other revelations, and reaches the sublime conclusion that there is only one God who fills the universe so full that men cannot escape a consciousness of his presence, who further reveals himself as the Architect of nature, and who completes his revelation by sending his Son to accomplish human salvation.

There are perilous points in the chain of Christian evidences, and it avails nothing to disguise or ignore difficulties. After all has been done that is possible, there is room for many philosophical cavils, and each mind will be required to judge for itself whether any links in the chain are missing. At the very outset a question will be raised respecting the exact measurement of the idea furnished in consciousness. It is no easy task to determine precisely how much is given. Professor Flint says:

> Religion is man's communion with what he believes to be a god, or gods; his sense of relationship to, and dependence on, a higher and mysterious agency, with all the thoughts, emotions, and actions which proceed therefrom. The communion may be dark and gross, and find expression in impure rites, or, it may be, in spirit and truth, and expressed in ways which educate and elevate both mind and heart.*

"It is in the general sense of a Being on whom we are dependent, and to whom we are responsible, that the idea is asserted to exist universally and of necessity in every human mind." † "It is no argument against our view that the perception of God is vague, and in itself almost formless." ‡

* *Theism*, p. 32. † Dr. Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, p. 195.
‡ Bowne's *Theism*, p. 80.

It is not claimed that the spontaneous idea of God in consciousness is other than rudimentary and ill-defined. The element of infinity, which is essential to a correct conception of Deity, enters but imperfectly into it, and in many cases is doubtless overlooked. The element of personality, however, for the most part appears, in an obscured condition, in all ethnic religions. The object of worship is first conceived as a great vague being, above man and above nature, and his attributes are afterward adjusted very much in harmony with the leading characteristics of the various nations. In fact, it is difficult to determine just how much is included in the original idea, or the exact measure of its intensity. Races have not attempted any definition of their conceptions of Deity until more or less complete theologies have grown up, and no attempt has been made to analyze these conceptions and trace them to their sources. Only recently have men inquired how much is given in the original idea, and how much has been added by subsequent reasoning. If it were possible to strip a man of all the conceptions of Deity derived from the vision of nature, from the history of man, and from the Bible, it might be not difficult to determine how much is left. Whether it will be possible to so accurately analyze the full-grown blossom of theism as to define the limits of the original germ is a problem for metaphysicians to deal with, and it is not clear that the solution will be readily reached.

All that can be considered as established is, that an idea of God finds a lodgment in human consciousness—a vague impression of some superhuman being too great to be wholly unknown. The history of the race may furnish varying answers respecting the exact content of the idea in consciousness, and there may be room for questions and objections—but all answers will agree in certain essential particulars. An idea of God is furnished to mankind; vague and ill defined it may be, but an impression of the presence of a Deity is undoubtedly common to the race. And the God revealed is a person, a being in some respects like ourselves. The idea of bodily form may, or may not, be present. More commonly there is a conception of an unseen spirit represented by a visible image. And this being, this spirit, is above man—is vast, powerful, resistless, supersensuous, an object of dread, claiming reverence

and obedience. Evaporate the idea to the last degree, and there is yet left a residuum which has been substantially the same for all races and all times, and which affords an ample germ for some system of theism. Enough is given to furnish a starting-point for a full assurance of the existence of God, and of man's responsibility to him.

Another purely metaphysical cavil, and yet one of great importance, since it involves the validity of all knowledge, has respect to the reality of the object foreshadowed by the idea. Has the subjective idea an objective reality? How do we know that there is any thing more than the impression in consciousness? Is there any God corresponding to the idea? The answer to this objection, while it may not prove with mathematical certainty the reality of a divine existence, will, nevertheless, leave us no alternative but to choose between God and agnosticism. If we deny the existence of God on this ground, we must likewise deny the existence of all things. We know God as fully as we know other beings and objects. As there is an outer world in which the forms and activities of nature impress themselves on the sense-perception and compel assent to their reality and influence, so there is an inner world where unseen things vindicate their reality and power and assert the very highest authority over men. This is an important line of thought, and it may be valuable to take testimony upon it.

Professor Harris says:

> The essential point of difficulty as to the reality of any knowledge is at the transition from the subjective impression to the objective reality. This difficulty, however, is no greater in knowing God than in knowing other beings. . . . The knowledge makes this transition, and remains equally real as knowledge whether the object is a body presented through the sensorium or a human being presented bodily through the senses, and in his spiritual personality through the spiritual susceptibilities and powers, or God revealed through the spiritual and distinctively religious susceptibilities and powers.*

Dr. Mulford remarks:

> There is no demonstration of the being of the physical world. If one denies its being, no proof can meet the denial. It is true that man by the senses—by the physical organs—has a direct

* *Self-Revelation of God*, pp. 75, 77.

perception of the physical world, the eye sees, and it is a waste of thought to carry the subject through metaphysical speculation. But this does not demonstrate the certainty of the physical world to one who denies it. Then it is alone the spirit in man that discerns the things of the spirit. It may be said that one lives and acts on the assumption of the existence of the physical; but in a higher degree is it true that man lives and acts on the assumption of the reality of the spiritual.*

Dr. Pope says:

The constitution of human nature is such that it naturally develops a consciousness of God, when God presents himself, even as it grows up into a consciousness of self and of the outer world.†

Newman Smyth declares:

Our point of departure in the investigation of the religious nature corresponds with the point from which physical science starts upon its voyage of discovery. In exploring either hemisphere of our double nature we must begin with corresponding facts, and proceed by analogous methods; and the experiences gained have similar claims upon rational credence.‡

Professor Winchell observes:

To assert the authority of our belief in the reality either of the external world or of the world within ourselves is, by implication, to announce the authority of that universal faith of humanity which affirms Supreme Divinity.§

And Professor Flint has beautifully said:

Our knowledge of God is obtained as simply and naturally as our knowledge of our fellow-men. It is obtained, in fact, mainly in the same way. . . . The Father in heaven is known just as a father on earth is known. . . . A child is not long in learning to know that a spirit is near it. As soon as it knows itself, it easily detects a spirit like its own, yet other than itself, when the signs of a spirit's activity are presented to it.‖

Holding to a rational realism, these writers, and many more, insist that our knowledge of God is as reliable as our knowledge of man and nature. Dr. Frank also draws out an elaborate parallel between the manifestation of God and the manifestation of material things in the human consciousness,¶ but greatly jeopardizes the argument by admitting a doubt as

* *Republic of God*, p. 96.
† *Compend. of Christian Theology*, vol. i, p. 235.
‡ *Religious Feeling*, p. 17, *sq.*
§ *Science and Religion*, p. 303.
‖ *Theism*, pp. 76, 89.
¶ *Christian Certainty*, pp. 53–132.

to the reality of matter. Professor Bowne,* likewise Professor Drummond,† and others who lean toward idealism, use this argument, but subject it to the same peril. If we know God as we know material things, and matter is non-existent, it is a short path to the conclusion that God is also non-existent. [None of these deny phenomenal objectivity.]

> If I am necessarily ignorant of the existence of the external world, and of the personal *ego*, or real self, I must be equally ignorant of the existence of God. If one is a mere supposition, an illusion, so the other must be.‡

To break down the validity of knowledge at one point is like the letting out of waters. But holding fast the reality of the physical universe, we may argue the reality of the spiritual.

We must admit the validity of all that is revealed in consciousness, or we destroy the value of testimony from that source. The same difficulties arise in grasping the reality of finite beings and material things as we meet in reaching the reality of the Divine Being. Material objects and finite beings impress themselves in perception, but we never actually touch the reality. The interactions of spirit and matter are an unexplained mystery. An absolute gulf stretches between spirit and matter; and as yet no bridge has been found to span it. But for this reason we do not doubt the reality of matter. The gulf is narrow; we can look across it, and hear across it, and study nature with much satisfaction. All the operations of physical science are carried on across this chasm. In spite of this philosophical break in our reasoning, very few have been rash enough to deny the existence of matter. It is ever present with us, it presses against us, it touches our eyes and ears, it enters into our experience, it is revealed in consciousness, and we never think of doubting its reality even though a link be missing in the philosophical chain of evidence that proves its existence.

There is an unbridged gulf between all subjective ideas of the mind and the objective realities represented by them; and if we cannot know across this gulf then all knowledge is impossible. This is the great problem of metaphysics, which may never be solved, and yet the operations of the universe

* *Theism*, p. 79, *seq.* † *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, introd., pp. 11, 25.
‡ Cocker, *Christianity and Greek Philosophy*, p. 197.

proceed as usual. Men persist in believing in the existence of matter, even though they have not yet determined its relations to mind. While a few, standing face to face with these difficulties, have been driven in despair to deny the reality of the external world, the mass of mankind calmly believe in the existence of matter, and are content to leave the philosophical difficulties to the investigations of the future.

In like manner men have received an impression of the existence of a supernatural Being, and have confidently connected this subjective idea with an objective reality, whether or not the metaphysical links were always visible. Human opinion on this question has marched triumphantly onward, hardly perceptibly jostled by all the philosophical cavils that have aimed to make a belief in the existence of God irrational and impossible. It seems the doom of human life thus far to rest on assumptions respecting the reality of self, nature, and God which are not susceptible of philosophical demonstration. But men have shown no inclination to abandon their innate belief in the reality of things at the behests of philosophy.

A final objection, and perhaps the most important of all, for the reason that it is not altogether speculative, relates to the links that bind the several revelations together. Consciousness furnishes an idea of Deity, philosophy finds an Absolute, nature discloses an Architect, the Bible reveals a Sovereign and Father—does the chain of evidence prove them one and the same person? The answer to this question must, of course, be furnished by the usual arguments by which the existence of the Christian's God has been sought to be established. We must recognize the validity of these lines of evidence, or Christian theism breaks down. It is not our purpose here to estimate the value of these arguments. Each thinker must judge of them for himself, and, finding them conclusive, theism for him will rest on a secure basis.

Starting with a vague, primitive conception, the human mind endeavors, in the exercise of its powers, and in the use of the data furnished in consciousness, to determine something respecting this Divinity. The questions will arise: Is there but one, or are there many? Is the Deity limited or unlimited? In the gropings of the human mind after light, many centuries may be employed in answering these questions.

Wrong answers may be given, and it is the work of the broadest intellectual culture to attain the right conclusion. The acute Greeks were content to worship their many gods until Socrates reasoned his way up to the conception of the Absolute, the personal, the one God, and died a martyr to monotheism. The primitive impression in consciousness does not furnish a clear and complete idea of the Absolute; philosophy has developed this idea, and to this extent has rendered a service in unfolding a system of theism. Greek philosophy, by teaching the doctrine of the Absolute, destroyed polytheism, and asserted the existence of an infinite, personal God. Modern philosophy has deteriorated somewhat, in that it raises questions respecting the personality of God, while it yet clings to the idea of the Absolute as a philosophical necessity.

A few philosophers, such as Kant and Hamilton, have denied that the human mind can *know* the existence of the Absolute; but this they regarded as a metaphysical, and not a practical, difficulty—they continued to *believe in* the Absolute. The verdict of philosophy is, that the existence of the Absolute is a necessity of human thought. There can be but one Absolute; and the human mind very readily connects the vague impression in consciousness with the highest conception of philosophy, and accepts their identity. Dr. Noah Porter has well expressed the conclusion that thinkers in general have reached:

> We do not demonstrate that God exists, but that every man must assume that he is. We analyze the several processes of knowledge in their underlying assumptions, and we find that the one assumption which underlies them all is a self-existent intelligence, who not only can be known by man, but who *must* be known by man, in order that man may know any thing else besides.*

Some, however, are not willing to accept this opinion, but find in the Absolute a principle rather than a person, and trace no connection between the deduction of philosophy and any spontaneous idea in consciousness.

Proceeding from the Absolute we stand face to face with man and nature to inquire after their origin. Here the usual cosmological, teleological, and ontological arguments are employed which have made such a powerful impression on the

* *Intellectual Science*, p. 555.

common mind. Though these arguments may not prove the Architect of the universe to be an infinite Being, yet the immensity of his creation and the ideas of time and space which press upon the mind in its contemplation of the universe go far to connect the God of nature with the Absolute of philosophy; and the study of the human mind, with its vast powers and limitations, and its mysterious glimpses through and beyond those limitations, suggests an infinite mind as its Creator. While many philosophers and scientists stumble at this crossing, and find in nature nothing but principle, or law, or force, the common mind easily makes the transition and discovers an infinite personal God—the Architect of the universe, and the Father of human spirits.

The last task of theism is to identify the God of all previous revelations with the God of the Bible. The main reliance for this purpose is the historical proofs of the truthfulness of the Bible, aided by the revelations of God in human consciousness in connection with religious experience. The evidence of God in conviction and regeneration will point back to the original impression in consciousness, and awaken probability that the same Being is the source of all these manifestations. The re-enforcement which consciousness brings to the historical evidence, however, can be valid only for Christians, or those who are in full accord with Christian testimony. For those whose standpoint is entirely outside of religious experience the historical evidence must rest solely on its merits.

Some hesitate to accept the historical proofs of the truthfulness of the Bible, but it is matter of surprise that the number is so limited. In any community where these proofs are understood and measured, the almost unanimous verdict is that they connect the God of all previous revelations with the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. And for those who accept it the direct revelation of God in the Bible seems beautifully to supplement and explain all other revelations.

It is difficult to analyze the actual contents of the various arguments for the existence of God, and assign to each its legitimate measure of influence. The original impression is born in the mind, and we are never free from its power; the universe presses upon us for explanation, and points to a personal Creator; our own struggling, longing spirits lead us up

to an Absolute Spirit; conscience proclaims the law of righteousness in our hearts as the dictum of a supreme Lawgiver; tradition to the heathen and the Bible to the Christian speak with the authority of a direct revelation, and from all these sources springs the broad system of theism. We cannot help feeling, however, that the original idea in consciousness is the germ of theism, and that to many individuals, and perhaps to some whole tribes of men, it has been the only tie to bind the creature to the Creator. Some tribes have been so degraded as to be unable to reflect on nature or human life, and yet God has touched them through this spontaneous impression. Many individuals in reflecting on the universe have lost themselves in speculation, and reached, as a conclusion, doubt and error and atheism. Others have marched to the same goal by the path of moral delinquency. But while men have thus, by logical jugglery, or by sin, broken their hold on God, he has not relaxed his grasp on them. In spite of their logic, or their sin, God has spoken in conscience or by his Spirit, and their souls have trembled at his presence.

The value of the argument from consciousness is found in the fact that it furnishes a starting-point for theism, and its golden threads are woven into the entire system. Shining most conspicuously in the original idea of Deity, it nevertheless appears in man's intellectual and moral nature, and in the religious experience of Christendom. Just how much weight mankind would attach to the other arguments for the existence of God, were it not for this original and wide-spread impression, it is impossible to determine, for we are never out from under its influence. Dr. Frank insists that without this evidence in consciousness all other arguments would not suffice to maintain a belief in God.

> With dialectic arguments God is not to be apprehended, notwithstanding this his nearness, and only to the man who has felt his hand in the heart will this hand be manifest in the works of creation.*

This sense of the divine abiding in human consciousness is an evidence for the existence of God which penetrates and re-enforces all other arguments, filling up all chasms in the path of theism, and giving to mankind an assurance that is unshaken

* *Christian Certainty*, p. 324.

by logical cavils. It oversteps the boundaries of all nations and races, survives all political, social, philosophical, and religious revolutions, and is not halted by any obstacles that beset its pathway. The idea of God is peculiarly marked by the "persistence" which is a test of spontaneous knowledge; and the multiplication of philosophical difficulties seems in no way to endanger it in the belief of mankind. Dr. Cocker says:

> The resistless tide of spontaneous and necessary thought has always borne the race onward toward the recognition of a great First Cause; and though philosophy may have erred, again and again, in tracing the logical order of this inevitable thought, and exhibiting the necessary nexus between the premises and conclusion, yet the human mind has never wavered in the confidence which it has reposed in the natural logic of thought, and man has never ceased to believe in a God.*

If we insist that all the metaphysical difficulties must be removed before knowledge is possible, we shall find no God, but rather lose the Bible, the beautiful universe, and ourselves. A more thorough study of the operations of the human mind may remove the logical obstacles that lie in the pathway of knowledge; but, whether this result must be reached or not, men will continue to act on the assumption that they have knowledge of their own existence, the existence of the universe, and the existence of God. Such knowledge is necessary, or human life vanishes. The vindication of the validity of the evidences of theism is found in the fact that through them God has satisfied mankind of his existence.

The drift of philosophical thought at the present time is unmistakably in favor of a full recognition of the revelations of consciousness; and Christian thought is giving peculiar emphasis to its subjective ideas and impressions in proof of the existence of God and the reality of religious experience. This line of evidence undoubtedly has great value, and, if it be not burdened with too great responsibility, will serve a valuable purpose in the interests of theism and Christianity.

* *Christianity and Greek Philosophy*, p. 173.

EDITORIAL MISCELLANY.

CURRENT TOPICS.

BISHOP WILLIAM TAYLOR.

I. His Official Status.

The remark, quoted with approbation by John Wesley, that "God made practical divinity necessary, the devil controversial," is especially emphasized when the disputed points are about Church politics, and the controversy raised is made to interfere with the work of saving souls. We see, however, and with sincere regret, that precisely such a question is being bruited in the papers of the Church concerning Bishop Taylor's official *status;* and it is especially to be deprecated that in some cases these discussions have manifested a decidedly partisan spirit with uncharitable personal references. Accepting to a very limited extent the necessity of which Wesley further speaks, we propose to briefly notice a few of the legal points involved, and then proceed to the more congenial duty of looking after the work in which Bishop Taylor is engaged—its eminently apostolical character and the practical lessons that it is teaching.

It is well known to all who are informed respecting our Church's affairs, that at the General Conference of 1856 measures were initiated looking to the election of a class of officers till then unknown in our Church, to be called Missionary Bishops or Superintendents, "for any of our foreign missions, limiting his [their] jurisdiction to the same respectively." This measure was championed by Dr. Durbin, who, without conceding that the General Conference was not entirely competent, outside of the third restrictive rule as it then was, to create such an office, in order to obviate any possible scruples chose the process of adding the second part to that rule, by which the election of such an officer is directly provided for. Under that provision two "missionary bishops for Africa" had been duly constituted, when in May, 1884, the office having been vacant for a number of years, the General Conference resolved to appoint still another, by direct election, who should also be consecrated at the same time with the four regular general superintendents just then elected; and accordingly William Taylor was so chosen and consecrated, the third in the order of succession of the "Missionary Bishops for Africa." So far every thing seems to be plain and easy to be understood, and there is no evidence that either the new incumbent or any body else was at all in doubt respecting the nature of the office to which he had been called—its functions and the extent of its jurisdiction. His appointment made him the superintendent of the missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Africa, present or prospective, and in addition to the usual functions of such officer it endowed him with certain episcopal powers within his designated "jurisdiction."

As it is presumed that Bishop Taylor understood the character of his office when he accepted it, so there is no proof that he has since entertained any different opinions on the subject. He evidently understands that he is clothed with all needful authority for the performance of his great work, and that he is free to use it according to his own godly judgment; and all that he is doing right grandly. Without disrespect or depreciation, it may be said of him that less than most other men in similar positions is he troubled about ecclesiastical theories. Were he ambitious of a name and of renown, what more could he crave than to be the representative of the Methodist Episcopal Church and the sole superintendent of its missions in his designated field, and that field a whole continent with nearly a hundred million people—and authorized, within that field, to perform all the functions of a Methodist bishop? But some who assume to be *par excellence* the friends of Bishop Taylor have raised the question of his episcopal *status*, claiming that he is a bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church *per se*, and that the episcopal "character" inures in himself and must accompany him wherever he may be. This seems to be the logic of the claim set up, which also carries with it certain implications respecting the nature of our episcopacy which may not be accepted without inquiry. If the well-established Methodist theory is kept in mind, to wit, that the episcopate is not an *order*, but simply an office, then all is simple and entirely plain. Episcopacy, as it has existed and been maintained in the general Church for fifteen hundred years, is not a scriptural order, but only an ecclesiastical arrangement. Bishops, according to the apostolical epistles, were pastors of local churches, and a little later, according to the "Didache" lately discovered, they were itinerant evangelists and visitors, with only advisory powers. The notion of an episcopal order, above and beyond the usual grade of Christian ministers, originated with the departure of the Church from the simplicity of primitive times, and it has been the fruitful source of corruption at every period of the Church's subsequent career. It is something with which Protestants, and especially Methodists, should have no part.

As a missionary bishop is the superintendent of a foreign mission, clothed with some of the functions which in the home Church have been exclusively devolved upon the general superintendents, so these latter are simply *presiding elders*, with the whole area of the denomination for their common district, having also committed to them certain functions which, by common consent, all others are forbidden to use. In ministerial order, or character, pastors, presiding elders, and bishops are the same; they are one in *kind*, but they have, to some extent, diverse duties. These diverse offices, however, are not specifically ordained in Scripture, but are only ecclesiastical appointments, devices of human wisdom (not excluding the guidance of the Spirit), and are included among the things which "every particular Church may ordain, change, or abolish." (Article of Religion XXII.)

With this view of the case in mind it cannot be difficult to understand the proper legal *status* of a missionary bishop. The missionary function

underlies and defines the episcopal—the latter is simply a qualification of the former. A pastor is such only within his pastorate, and a presiding elder has no official power except within his proper district; for nobody pretends that the presiding eldership is an *order* having its proper *prerogatives*, and not simply an *office*, charged with certain *functions*. The territorial episcopate of a general superintendent of the Methodist Episcopal Church is conterminous with the denomination, but beyond those limits his official powers are terminated. This broad extent of the episcopal field was ordained by the constituent General Conference, and the delegated General Conference of the present time is forbidden by its fundamental law to destroy that "plan;" nor was that restriction removed by the clauses added in 1856 respecting a missionary bishop. Until 1856 the entire work of the ministry was distributed among the pastors, presiding elders, and bishops; but since that time still another functionary has been recognized, called "a missionary bishop," appointed to serve "in any (particular one) of our foreign missions," with his jurisdiction specifically limited to the same. Within his properly defined field he may exercise certain functions which elsewhere belong only to the general superintendents; but beyond it, his special authority does not extend; and if he for any cause travels abroad, his episcopal powers are for the time being in abeyance—he becomes like any other Methodist minister among the same conditions. His episcopacy is local, and beyond that locality it is not. Should a missionary bishop visit any other mission field than his own he could not perform any properly episcopal work; he could not preside over an Annual Conference, and an ordination by his hands would be legally invalid. Should he visit the United States, his *status* while there would be that of a traveling elder, without official standing. If his services should be desired as a general superintendent the rule of the Discipline (§ 214) must be followed, which says, "A bishop is to be constituted by the election of the General Conference, and the laying on of the hands," etc.; and by virtue of that action, it must be observed, his duties would be so changed that instead of confining his labors to one specified portion of the territory of the Church, he must thereafter "travel through the connection at large," and with his associates in the general superintendency "oversee the spiritual and temporal interests of our (whole) Church." It is thus seen that not only are the offices of a missionary bishop and that of a general superintendent each distinct from the other, but the work of the two is necessarily incompatible. And because we believe that for Bishop Taylor to exchange the work in which he is engaged for the general superintendency of the whole Church would be a limiting rather than enlargement of his usefulness, we should greatly deprecate such a change. His present calling is manifestly in the order of Providence; let him abide in it, with time and opportunities to work out its grand results. And while speedy results may seem to be desirable, it must still be borne in mind that even in the salvation of the world God works by means, and seems never to make haste. Eighteen centuries have been occupied in bringing Christianity to its present state.

II. His Work.

William Taylor, engaged in projecting Christian missions among the pagan savages of Africa, is a spectacle of the sublimest interest. The career upon which he has entered, if continued and prosecuted with a good degree of success, will rival in renown those of Livingstone and Stanley, with the added luster of the thoroughly spiritual character of his work, bringing to the heathen that Gospel for which they were only pioneers and road-makers. The significant fact, as now seen, is, that he is doing something, not speculating on possibilities and asking how, and whom, and by what means, but actually going forward, and at least essaying to bring something to pass; and the great world, as well as the whole Church, has heard of him, and men are observing his movements as those of one engaged in a perilous but heroic enterprise, or as those of the magician walking alone in a charmed circle; and already premature shouts of praise are heard from those who admire greatness, though not themselves great, and whose impatience of delay renders them unmindful of the admonition that it is not wise to exult in an incomplete enterprise. And yet it is wonderful to see him moving unscathed under tropical skies, and among the death-dealing miasmas of African rivers and estuaries, threading their marshes and sleeping in their jungles, unharmed alike by the elements and the beasts of prey and fierce savage men, apparently in a literally realized fulfillment of the Scripture which tells of deliverance from "destruction and death," of a "league with the stones of the field," and which says that "the beasts of the field shall be at peace with thee." Steadily, and apparently with undivided purpose, he is seen going forward in ceaseless activity, and with large plans of action in hand, which he is pursuing with faith and in hope, and for whose outcome he seems content to wait.

Without at all depreciating the divine influences by which he acts, and which are the impelling and directing agencies that are leading him forward, due account must be taken of Bishop Taylor's personal qualities, which are especially displayed in his work. Among these the most considerable is his extraordinary personality, self-concentration resulting in self-reliance and forgetfulness of all else. This quality of mind, if accompanied by real ability in its subject, is mightily effective in one charged with onerous and difficult executive duties. It gives confidence in all undertakings, and evokes its own resources in both the individual and in its auxiliary agents, and is a perpetual assurance of success. It projects the work to be done, selects the auxiliaries, decrees the methods, and proceeds to the execution without any loss of power through divided counsels. These qualities have been manifested in all the life-work of William Taylor; but by reason of the wide field for their operation assigned to him by the Church they have now become the more conspicuous. To sustain the work taken in hand will, indeed, tax these powers to their utmost; and, while all who sympathize with the spirit of the missionary enterprise will earnestly pray and hope for his complete and

abundant success, it must still be remembered that his work is only just begun, that it is yet too soon to look for matured results. To labor on in the patience of faith, sustained by hope in God, is, therefore, the present duty, and especially should all concerned be mindful of the divine word of caution, "Let not him that girdeth on his armor boast himself as he that putteth it off." The campaign now only in preparation is no doubt destined to be long and painful, often beset with discouragements, and at all times calling for earnest and strenuous efforts.

The scheme or ideal of his work is unique; his modes of procedure are bold, almost to temerity, and yet his is evidently the only method that has about it any promise of success. An experiment continued more than fifty years, with an outlay of nearly a million dollars, has demonstrated the ineffectiveness of the methods that have been pursued. If it is well to learn wisdom by one's failures, our work in Liberia affords abundant facilities for the study; it should be cause for rejoicing that Bishop Taylor's work has been projected and will be prosecuted on another plan. His watchword is *forward*, FORWARD, and his objective point the center of the region among whose people he intends to operate, where a lodgment must be effected, and from which aggressive movements may be made. The boldness with which the work has been undertaken, and the disregard of difficulties and dangers, have their fascinations, which may be rendered valuable, and are also liable to become dangerous through temerity and want of foresight. The element of self-support, which is essential to any large success in missionary work, and which, therefore, should always be kept in view and steadily aimed at, but which is, and must somewhat longer continue to be, an unrealized ideal, has perhaps been too much talked about, for Bishop Taylor's African missions have received as large pecuniary favors as the average of new missions to heathen peoples. But that element will be developed, and there can be no question that when once established there are no difficulties in the way of self-support. There may be some danger that too much success in that line may develop the love of acquisition, than which scarcely any thing could be more to be deprecated. But years must be given in which to test the experiment.

III. Its Lessons.

Not the least valuable of the results that may be expected to accrue from Bishop Taylor's work in Africa is its probable influence in modifying the methods of missionary administration in the field and in the home office. It need not be denied that there is more or less danger of a kind of bureaucracy, with its routine and red-tape in the administration of boards and offices. To some extent something of this kind is inevitable, but it always tends to excess, and needs to be broken in upon by spontaneous, and perhaps irregular, movements. Organic ecclesiastical action is usually quite too conservative to utilize opportunities, or to venture upon perilous enterprises. The sure way to accomplish great results is to go about the work, and often that is possible

only through a degree of practical disregard of constituted authority. There is at all times an unused element of men and money that can be called out only by the wild cries and the irregular movements that are usually, perhaps justly, accounted somewhat fanatical. The hardships of ill-provided expeditions may become the most effective discipline for profitable labor; and if the outgoing host shall be depleted till only a few tried souls remain, these shall see the victory. It is expected that a large percentage of those who go out as foreign missionaries will prove failures; and it is not beyond probability that in addition to the confessed failures, others remain in the work from a variety of motives who would better remain at home. It is a good thing for a band of missionaries when the faint hearts fall out by the way; and Bishop Taylor's plan of hard service and poor pay may hasten the process among his not always wisely-selected recruits.

The watchword of "self-support" comes in good time, and it may be hoped that it will accomplish much-needed amendments in the financial affairs of some of our older and well-established missions. It is found to be generally almost absolutely impossible to bring up a mission to the stage of self-support. Like the taste of the bread of the work-house, which is proverbially fatal to manly self-reliance in those who receive it, the continuous and assured receipt of gifts from the home treasury by a foreign mission is far from being wholesome in its action; it will be well, therefore, if under Bishop Taylor's plan Christian communities shall be formed that shall eat their own bread and wear their own clothing, and build their own houses, and cultivate their fields, and learn the Pauline lesson, that they who are fed with spiritual nutriment should not expect that they shall also be fed with carnal things. To do this is a practice that it is often very difficult to bring into use in mission fields.

The promises of eminent success with which there is cause to believe Bishop Taylor will greet the coming General Conference, it may be hoped will encourage that august body to largely increase the number of missionary bishops, and to strengthen and facilitate the tendency evinced by some of the more fully developed missions toward autonomy and self-support.

The policy that has hitherto prevailed, of making foreign missions integral parts of the home Church, and so compelling them to appear as foreign bodies in their several countries, should be changed as rapidly as possible. There should be a local Methodism, with "home-rule," for Germany, for Scandinavia, India, China, and for Japan. This would not necessitate such complete separation from the parent body but that grants in money could be made and their right use assured, and also that missionaries might be sent out to labor among the people, and to teach them the way of the Lord more thoroughly.

WHAT OF THE BIBLE?

This is not a new question; but it is one that needs to be often asked anew, and one which each individual should honestly propound to himself. Nor should it be a difficult question to answer. It may also be said that there is an ever-present, though somewhat indefinite, answer to it in the common thought of Protestant communities; but that answer so far fails to meet not a few of the problems of the general question that it cannot endure the siftings of a rational examination. And this vagueness is no doubt an occasion of weakness in the convictions of the average Protestant believer. It becomes, therefore, a matter of very considerable interest that it should be clearly determined what ought to be believed, and what are the proofs by which such beliefs are supported.

The progress of biblical criticism has of late brought this subject so conspicuously to the front that its consideration has become a necessity. There is evidently springing up a kind of disharmony, more or less clearly pronounced, between the specialists in biblical studies and the traditional consensus of some of the orthodox denominations, which have led to conflicts of opinions among leading theologians, and to divisions in the proceedings of ecclesiastical bodies. A young man of fine scholarship and unquestioned Christian character was lately elected to a responsible place in a venerable theological seminary—one specially distinguished for its unimpeachable orthodoxy—its guardians testifying from personal knowledge to the unimpeachable correctness of his faith. But when his application for license to preach came before the proper ecclesiastical body it was met with objections because of suspicions that his views respecting the inspiration of the Scriptures, and of the "inerrant" correctness of every part of all the accepted canonical books, fell below the required standard. The objections so made, and afterward withdrawn, were not the result either of ignorance or captiousness on the part of those who made them; and yet the fact that they were made for the causes alleged, and also the nature of the further answers made by the candidate, which were accepted as satisfactory, suggest other and very significant inquiries. These things—for the case referred to is not a solitary one—call us back to certain first principles of the faith, and they require a clear and intelligent answer to the question at the head of this paper.

The distinctive point of difference between Romanism and Protestantism relates to the ultimate authority that must determine in matters of Christian doctrine. The former claims that it abides in the Church, (that is, of Rome,) and becomes obligatory when declared by a General Council, or the Infallible Pope; the latter, in the spirit of Chillingworth's famous aphorism, that "the Bible is the religion of Protestants," appeals to the written word, whose sense must be determined by the individual, who must read for himself and fashion his creed accordingly. The former

method is very simple and direct, and its outcome is easily ascertained, and it has the further advantage, in the estimation of the timid or indolent, that it relieves them from the drudgery of examining and thinking for themselves, and shifts the whole responsibility in the premises upon the shoulders of a ghostly attorney; while the latter requires not a little careful inquiry, and then, in most cases, leaves many things more or less in doubt.

It is, however, much more than possible that of those who professedly accept the theory of the free use and the private interpretation of the Scripture, a large proportion derive their opinions from some human authority. The traditions of one's religious environments, the lessons learned in childhood, the teaching of the pulpit, and the accepted creed of one's Church, usually determine the theological belief of most persons. That this should be the case is unavoidable; and it is probably for the best, since only a very few can be expected to examine these profound subjects from their first principles upward. It is also not to be denied that among those who attempt to settle these questions by their own study of the divine word there are not inconsiderable discrepancies of opinions, though it may still be believed that, as taught in the Presbyterian Confession of Faith, "those things which are necessary to be believed and observed are so clearly propounded and opened, in some place of Scripture or other, that not only the learned, but the unlearned, in the due use of the ordinary means, may attain to a sufficient understanding of them." In that fact is found the assurance of the substantial unity of all genuine Protestants, who, though often differing in respect to non-essential details, are nevertheless agreed in all that is necessary for spiritual instruction and Christian edification.

The earnestness displayed in respect to questions of biblical criticism, and the manifest divergencies of views concerning the inspiration of the Bible, indicate a transition of the prevailing thought respecting both the internal and the external character of the Bible. During the early decades of the present century the very generally accepted views respecting these things were extremely one-sided. The canonical Scriptures were claimed to be, in all their parts and portions, and all in equal degree, divine oracles. Their substance had been dictated to human amanuenses, who wrote only as they were moved by the Holy Ghost. The thoughts were all divinely given, and though they were expressed in human language, the language itself, in that use of it, was transfigured and glorified. The prevalent conception was that illustrated by certain mediæval illuminations, which picture the evangelists copying their gospels from heavenly books held open before them by angels.

The human element in the Bible consisted only in its outward form of words and sentences, and these were selected by the inspiring Spirit—all else was said to be entirely and exclusively divine. That conception of the case would necessarily shut up the range of biblical criticism to the definition of words and the unraveling of metaphors. Nor does it appear why, if a revelation so complete and unalloyed by human thought

was needful at the first, equal completeness and purity must not still be needful; and if so, copyists and translators can properly perform their work only as they are rendered infallible by divine inspiration.

It is not necessary to be at any pains to show that such views are now entertained by very few biblical scholars and critics. The theory on which they rested has effectually broken down by reason of its extreme one-sidedness. It subsisted and flourished in the unspiritual philosophy of the eighteenth century, and it is passing away with the removal of the conditions that cherished it. The early Reformers, although they assigned so high a place to the written word, were not disposed to make it a pope, much less to substitute it for God himself, and to clothe it with some of the highest attributes of the Most High. They indeed received the Bible as God's greatest gift—after that of his own Son—to the Church and the race, and as to the outward form they accepted the canon as showing what was and what was not of the Bible. And yet it is well known that Luther himself had no idolatrous reverence for the canon, but, evidently accounting it a human device, he reconstructed it and changed its composition by the omission of one or more of its books, and that less for critical than for dogmatical reasons. The more conservative English Reformers spoke of the Bible not as itself the divine word, but as *containing* "God's true word;" and having said so much they then appear to be chiefly careful to guard against supplementing its lessons by any thing of merely human authority, or of conceding to it any occult or mystical sense. It cannot, then, be unsafe at this time for any intelligent disciple of those justly venerated men to stand where they stood in their estimate and treatment of the holy Scriptures; and therefore, like them, we must submit those sacred and venerable works to the determinations of a reverent and intelligent criticism.

In conceding the supreme authority of the Bible in all matters of faith, there is also the assumption for it that it is given by God—that is, that it is inspired. In that concession two points must be noted: first, that God has in some way communicated to men certain truths and doctrines, to the knowledge of which they could not have attained by merely natural agencies; and second, that he at the first attested these revelations as divine, and afterward extended that attestation to the records that were made of them. And that attestation, or its equivalent, is as needful now as at first, and this calls for a providential superintendence exercised through all time over what had been so delivered and recorded. For there certainly is no less necessity for the hand of God in preserving and transmitting the written word than there was for the work of his Spirit in its original communication. These two things appear to be essential to any adequate conception of the word of God as "the only and sufficient rule of faith and practice," and these, therefore, constitute the real elements of the inspiration of the Scriptures. Wherever these are accepted we must confess that all that is essential to a true faith in the inspiration of the Scriptures is present; and without so much as is implied in these things, though there may be a very high esti-

mate set upon the book, still it cannot be received as in itself an infallible rule of life.

Further, some writers have marked a distinction between God's act in declaring his truth and man's subjective acceptance of it; and to the latter, especially, has been given the name of "inspiration." It is indeed quite possible that many things delivered to and recorded by the prophets were not apprehended in their spiritual significance by those who thus received and wrote them. To them, therefore, they were not truly revelations; and though written in the book, they still awaited another and clearer spiritual manifestation to bring them to the conscious perception of the soul of man. In like manner, the spiritual import of the word may not be apprehended by some who read it, not because of any lack of human learning, but for want of spiritual insight. This seems to be the meaning of yet another passage in the "Confession of Faith" referred to above, which says: "Notwithstanding our full persuasion and assurance of the infallible truth of the divine word, it is from the inward work of the Holy Spirit, bearing witness by and with the word in our hearts, . . . whereby it doth abundantly evidence itself to be the word of God." Some not over-reverent critics have proposed to test the Scriptures by what they term the "verifying faculty;" but with them that faculty is human and merely rational, and therefore not suited to the task proposed. But a better authority tells of "an anointing from the Holy One," by virtue of which they who have received it "know all things" needful for saving faith and Christian life. No doubt good and sincere men often err from the truth, but not fatally, unless they are misled by their own pride of opinion.

Confessions of faith, because of their necessary brevity and conciseness of expression, are especially capable of more than a single construction, if the attempt is made to carry them out into details by a process of inferences. Some degree of indefiniteness and ambiguity may not be altogether undesirable in many cases, while to hold any one responsible for any thing that may be logically inferred from what he professes, though not declared by him, is an unjust proceeding. In that way this "convenient indefiniteness" is sometimes made to cover pretty broad doctrinal discrepancies.

In the published summary of beliefs submitted at the second hearing of the case referred to at the beginning of this article, the candidate declares that he believes "the Holy Scriptures not only *contain* the word of God, but *are the word of God*," and with that declaration his examiners were satisfied. But that last clause is very far from being definitely univocal. It may be, or it may not be, understood as a profession of belief that every part of every book of the canon is truly "the word of God." Had the attestant said that he believes that whatever was originally written in all of the canonical books is "the word of God"—*that and nothing else*—which would imply that every part is equally divine, his language would have been less equivocal, and some would think also less exactly correct. But unless he explicitly denies the presence of a human ele-

ment in the Bible he could not have said so. The profession of a belief in the sole and divine authority of the Scriptures in respect to faith and duty, though altogether excellent, is simply a commonplace; and when they are spoken of as *infallible* as a "rule of faith and practice," we must suppose that such a profession at that point is conditioned upon the supposed spiritual state of the subject, without which even a rule objectively perfect would fail of perfect results. Again, when it is said that "the revelations of God to the inspired writers were *absolutely inerrant*," the confessor either formulates an obvious truism which nobody ever thought of denying—for God cannot lie—or else he means to say further that all the records made by each and every one of the sacred writers are "absolutely inerrant;" and then there can be no human element in the Scriptures, since "to err is human," and all the confessed discrepancies and mathematical inaccuracies that commentators have so long wrestled with are equally true. All that may be said about the practical unimportance of the "difficulties in the Scriptures," attributing them in many cases to imperfect transcriptions, which biblical science tends to correct, is simply the commonplace of the class-room, and is quite correct; but it fails to answer the requirements of the case so long as a single instance is not covered.

The question then recurs, whether we are to understand by the word "Scriptures" every thing found in the Bible from the beginning of Genesis to the end of Revelation. Is every thing contained within that compass "the word of God?" And, if so, then we must ask which copy or version is the one genuine Bible? for there are many of these, and they present very considerable discrepancies. Does the declared "inerrancy" apply to not only the spiritual truths revealed, but also to every scientific implication, and all historical, genealogical, and geographical statements found in the Bible? This would of course entirely exclude all human elements from the sacred text, and give us the whole body of the canonical Scriptures as an undiluted mass of divine truth and doctrine, without any human admixture, and in every part equally and "inerrantly" the pure word of God. But is that the accepted doctrine of Protestantism? We have seen how Luther viewed this matter when he presumed to describe one of its chief portions as relatively "an epistle of straw." Nor did the English Reformers so teach; for we find at the opening of one of the "Homilies" prepared to be read by authority in all the churches, "On the Holy Scriptures," this language: "Unto the Christian man there can be nothing more necessary or profitable than the knowledge of the Holy Scripture; *forasmuch as in it is* CONTAINED God's true word, setting forth his glory and man's duty." And in the ritual of the Church of England—which is followed in this particular by our own Church—the candidate for the eldership is only required to profess at this point that he "is persuaded that the Holy Scriptures contain sufficiently all doctrine required of necessity for eternal salvation." In all these cases it is assumed to be enough that we have the sacred volume, which alone, when unfolded by the teachings of the Spirit, is sufficient to guide the willing and obedient into

all religious truth. And although we have this treasure in earthen vessels—and even if it were deemed possible that some particles of earthy matter may be mingled with its pure gold—still the divine teacher, the Comforter that is to guide us into all truth, will know how to separate the human from the divine; and while human learning may suffice to compass all that is in the letters, still to the unspiritual the Bible is a sealed volume. If only the light of man's understanding is brought to its interpretation the result will be both incomplete and misleading. He who is himself the author of all that is divine in Scripture, when just completing his personal ministry as a man among men, left this promise to his disciples, and through them to the Church in all after times: "But the Comforter, the Holy Spirit, whom the Father will send in my name, he shall teach you all things, and bring to your remembrance all that I said unto you," thus clearly intimating that the mysteries of salvation set forth in God's written word must needs be unfolded to the spiritual understanding by the ministration of the Spirit. And a little further along he amplified this promise by adding, "When the Spirit of truth is come, he shall guide you into all the truth, for he shall not speak from himself" (that is, make new revelations), but "He shall glorify me, for he shall take of mine (the words of Christ, uttered either by himself directly, or indirectly through prophets and evangelists and apostles), and shall declare it unto you."

As learners of the things that belong to salvation the Bible is to us the divinely designated text-book, but the Holy Spirit himself is every man's teacher; and, since he is infallible, any possible human elements in the text-book must be entirely harmless, for these are not among the things of Christ which the Spirit will declare to the docile subjects of his ministrations. "All the treasures of wisdom and knowledge" are not only in Christ, but they are *hid* in him; and, though written down in the book, they can be truly revealed only to those to whom the Spirit shall declare them. It is enough, as to our outward equipment, that we have in our hands the volume in which lies "the mystery of mysteries;" but beyond that, we need in our hearts the spirit of inspiration to receive for ourselves "the Spirit and the truth."

We confess in our sacred songs that the meaning of the written word must be given to each believer by the same Spirit that dictated it to those who wrote it; and that inspiring and directing Spirit, acting like the magnet, will bring to believing hearts only the unalloyed truth. For its divinely appointed purpose the Bible is a faultless volume, but its faultlessness does not necessarily imply its absolute "inerrancy" in its external form and human elements.

THE IRISH LAND QUESTION.

Geologists tell us that earthquakes are caused by movements in the earth's crust, the parts adjusting themselves to new conditions—a theory which makes those seemingly destructive movements simply attempts at new and better arrangements as demanded by changes already made, and, therefore, conducive to future quiet and stability. Perhaps similar considerations will apply to the pending political agitations just now occurring among the affairs of the [badly] United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. These movements are certainly sufficiently seismatic, and there may be good reasons to believe that they are the results of changes which have been going forward for a long time in the social and economical affairs of the kingdom, and that their tendency is not at all destructive nor largely revolutionary, though, like all readjustments, they may occasion local and temporary inconveniences.

The troubles that now convulse the whole kingdom—although the strained relations of the two islands, on account of their diverse races and institutions, are of long standing, and have become inveterate through age—center in the incompatible demands of landlords and tenants; the former requiring more, and the latter unable or unwilling to pay as largely as in the past. The question involved is, after all, simply one of facts: Can the tenant farmer afford to pay as large a rental for the acres he occupies as has formerly been paid? and can the landlord reduce the rentals without incurring the risks of bankruptcy? Probably both of these questions must be answered by a simple negative; and because the one party is not willing nor able to continue the old system, and the other party finds it very inconvenient to readjust his claims to the new demands, there is and must be a conflict.

After making all necessary allowance for the chronic religious feuds of Protestants and Catholics, and for the incompatibility of tempers of Celts and Saxons—the love of power in the latter, and the recklessness of life and love of a fight in the other—it still remains evident that the perennial spring of the conflict is a pecuniary one—the opposing demands for a larger share of the produce of the land. The Ireland of half a century ago exists no longer; both the upper and the lower classes have changed, but they have not come nearer together. The higher and more costly style of living that has come into vogue in both Europe and America has not failed to be felt even in the poverty-stricken regions of western and southern Ireland, and accordingly the landlord requires a larger income, and the tenants, after supplying their own augmented wants, find themselves unable to pay even as largely as their fathers did; and then America lies just beyond the Atlantic and is perpetually sending a current of moral and political influences across the ocean, which is acting upon the social atmosphere not less effectively than the Gulf Stream acts upon the climate. The material agencies, also, that operate between the two countries, are widely effective of changes in the views of the poorest of the poor in

respect to the common demands of living, making what were before almost unheard-of luxuries the necessaries of life, of which appetizing tastes come to them, from time to time, by gifts from kindred beyond the sea. But greater than all besides are the depressing effects produced on the value of Irish—and English also—agricultural productions, by the importation of American breadstuffs, and meats, and all kinds of provisions. "Times is bad," said a cottager to a traveler in Donegal, "and stock is low. A cow my father got eight pound for I couldn't sell this year for four pound. Every thing's fallen *except the rent.* What's to be done?"

This is the tenant's side of the case, plainly, and no doubt correctly, stated, and the statement explains and justifies the prevailing discontents without drawing upon the influence of political agitators, which is not much felt in the more remote and out-of-the-way places. But there is a landlord's side of the subject, which, if less pitiful, is scarcely less embarrassing. The landholders have come into their possessions with all the ideas and traditions of the past, but another order of things has grown up around them, for which they are not prepared. The incomes which were ample for their fathers entirely fail to answer to their necessities; they can, therefore, ill afford to reduce their incomes, and they complain that their tenants are idle, and obstinate, and seditious. Of this class we find a life picture in one of the English magazines, by the author of *John Halifax, Gentleman*, who last year made a tour of pleasure and observation through north-western and western Ireland,—as follows:

> No doubt Ireland has suffered cruelly from the worst type of that order who, generation after generation, lived recklessly, ruinously, in their Castle Rackrents, till their impoverished descendants of to-day, with the same extravagant tastes, the same contemptible pride, ashamed of economy though not of debt, have found it impossible to maintain "the family" in the only style which they consider its due. They therefore run away from what they dare not face; become permanent absentees, and spend in England or abroad the money they get out of the estate, keeping up the honor of owning property, but shirking alike its duties and responsibilities. Such landlords—and the Encumbered Estates Court has long proved how many there are—spendthrift "gentlemen," who have over-built, over-eaten, over-drank themselves, and then racked their tenants to supply their own extravagances, have been the curse of Ireland. They deserve no mercy, only strict justice.

All this is, no doubt, true to the original, and its censures are none too severe, but it would be found very difficult, in the changed condition of things, for better men to so adjust things that neither party—the tenants nor the landlords—shall escape from claims that cannot be met. Even those of the better class, next described, find it no easy matter to respond to the adverse claims made upon them.

> But there is another class who deserve justice also—and do not always get it, being included in the common howl against "landlordism," which is now sowing in Ireland all the seeds of civil war—I mean the "good old Irish gentleman" who has lived on his estate, as his fathers lived before him, spent all his money there, done his best for his tenants, exacted from them no more than his due, and shown an example of thrift, industry, kindliness, and charity which, if they did not imitate, it was their fault, not his. Such landlords do exist; but with the usual passionate impulsiveness of the Celtic race they are overlooked—even as the cool-

headed but prejudiced Saxon overlooks the fact that every tenant in Ireland does not go about armed with a gun, and, generally speaking, has not the slightest wish to shoot his landlord, unless coerced into so doing.

But "the good old Irish gentleman" is becoming only an historical character; the change of environments is unfavorable to the perpetuation of the species, and neither the superior nor the inferior party is willing to perform his part of the compact, by virtue of which such a class was possible. Social discontent has produced emigrations, leaving vast portions of lands uncultivated, and unsettling the minds of the common people; and the opportunities for outlays in not undesirable, but, for such as the tenant classes are, extravagant expenditures breeds further discontents and restiveness. The reduction of rents, in proportions that would sadly deplete many an old estate, must be the inevitable outcome of the new condition of affairs; and because the landlord class is legally the master of the situation, social strifes and incipient rebellion must compel the needed changes. But the outcome is as certain as the course of the seasons, and they only are the real friends of the national welfare who shall see the situation and seek to adjust affairs in harmony with the demands of the case. A reconstruction of society, in its social and industrial relations, has become inevitable by reason of the changed political relations already effected throughout Europe, and nowhere else more so than in all parts of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. This process will necessarily destroy much that is venerable and pleasant to contemplate; for wide social changes, though inevitable and needful for the general welfare, cannot be effected without the sacrifice of some things that are in themselves valuable. The sentiment that cherishes the antique and time-worn simply because it is old must give way before the progress of the living present, for the dwellings of the living are of more account than the tombs of the dead.

FOREIGN, RELIGIOUS AND LITERARY.

"How to Battle Against Methodism?" is the title of an address recently made at a pastoral conference in Erlangen, and which, in the form of a printed pamphlet, has attracted considerable attention in Germany. The author commences by stigmatizing, in striking outlines, the movement known as "Methodism" as an entirely "un-German," unevangelical one, undermining the foundations of the Reformation. He declares that it does this in a very crafty way, by agents whose well-calculated methods and laical style gain generous results. This leads him to the real point in question, namely, the attack on the State Church, whose faults and short-comings are the real ground for the inroads being made by the new faith. As such he very specially names the weakness and inefficiency of religious consciousness, the want of a confidential relation between the

congregation and the pastor, the rarity of divine service as well as its uniformity, and its exactness in regard to time and place and clothes, and the very decided neglect of special religious services. He complains much of the assumption on the part of the laity in the matter of church offices, and the total disregard of all police regulations in all their arrangements, which he would put into operation to check them.

If the author thinks in this way to stem the tide that now tends toward Methodism he does so on the supposition that real Christians can find in *the Church* the satisfying religious nourishment that the masses seek in Methodism; and this they do not. And in reality this is the great want that gives to Methodism its attraction. This arises from the growing democratic opposition to *Church-ordained* authority, and the ecclesiastical assumption that all who assume their prerogatives in any way are agitators. The German Church must abolish a good deal of its red tape before it can battle with any success against our faith.

THE BISHOPRIC OF JERUSALEM is a troublesome question that seems at last to be settled. The archbishop of Canterbury, in conjunction with his colleague of York and the bishop of London, published a circular announcing that after the lapsing of the agreement with the Prussian government an English bishopric has been established in Jerusalem. The High Church party protested against this in advance, as a sort of encroachment on the prerogatives of the Greek patriarch, in the fear that this measure might be regarded as one that would deny the legitimacy of the Greek Catholic Church.

A brief from the archbishop seeks to reply to both objections by affirming expressly that it is in nowise the business of the future bishop to make proselytes from the orthodox Church, or in any way to meddle with the jurisdiction of the patriarch; but rather to cultivate friendly relations with the other "*catholic*" Churches in Jerusalem, and especially with the Greek Church; and, above all, to convince these Churches that the Church of England desires to labor with them on the platform of catholic principles. The archbishop also adds to these words that the said prelate will have no territorial jurisdiction in Palestine, and hence bears rather unwisely the title of "bishop of Jerusalem;" he will have rather the spiritual supervision over the priests and missionaries of the English Church.

In explanation of the relation to the patriarch, a letter from the latter is given, in which he gives expression to the ardent wish for a closer connection of the Churches, and especially requests that the English bishop shall be stationed in Jerusalem, and not in Beyroot, as is urged in some quarters. Therewith the objections of the opposing parties seem to be met, for even they wished to see the English branch of the *catholic* Church represented in Jerusalem in order in the Holy City, in common with the representatives of the other Churches, to celebrate the eucharist; only they suggested, in view of the sensitiveness of the patriarch, sending another high grade ecclesiastic — an archdeacon, perhaps; but

this objection seemed to fall away after the above quoted letter of the patriarch.

But, in spite of all this, the High Church party complain loudly. They think it fortunate that they are no longer bound to the Prussian State Church in this matter, and they have gotten rid of a corpse in the dissolution of the contract; but they greatly need the money that came from that quarter. This deficit is now to be made good by the "Church Missionary Society," and this is by no means of the High Church way of thinking. As this body now makes a considerable sacrifice for this bishopric, it naturally expects the advancement of its own interests, so that in the new arrangement either the patriarch will be deceived or the said society. Now, an English bishop in Jerusalem should owe his friendly reception to no false assertions. These will deceive both parties, and leave the field open to others who are more frank and more intelligently active. The Protestant "sects," as they are called in contumely, are developing so much energy that, while those others are lukewarm, these may step in and secure the prize.

PÈRE HYACINTHE is again becoming quite active in Paris, and is assisted this time by a coadjutor bearing the name of Abbé Jouet. This latter gentleman has lately enlightened the Papal nuncio in Paris as to the grounds of his separation from the Roman Catholic Church. Hyacinthe is no longer working in the sole interest of the Gallican Church, but rather for the union of the entire apostolic and episcopal Church, to be called the *Anglo-Catholic*.

In view of this new tendency of the noted père, he was recently invited by the rector of the Anglo-American Church in Paris to deliver in his pulpit a "Lenten sermon," on which occasion he said many strange things. This Anglo-American Church has a catholic interior in the matter of its ornaments, and the processional entrance was made in the style of the *highest* church, Father Hyacinthe and his assistant wearing the violet stole and the surplice. After the processional hymn Hyacinthe recited several prayers, in one of which he prayed for the blessing and the illumination of God on the patriarchs of the Romish, Greek, and Anglo-American Churches, and for the spread of unity, liberty, justice, and peace. From his prayer it appeared that Hyacinthe is willing that the pontiff shall remain as head of an Italian national Church, but everywhere else the national catholic Churches shall have a patriarch at their head, and all these shall unite in the one holy apostolic Church.

In the "Lenten sermon" that followed, the père said but little concerning the passion of the Lord, and very much about politics. He would have two free Churches in the two sister republics, namely, of France and the United States; from which it is difficult to distinguish whether the notable speaker is a republican or an imperialist, when he says that imperialism, or even a dictatorship, may be another form of republic. In the course of his sermon, if this political speech may be called thus, he enters the arena for the separation of Church from State; and in flaming words he

depicted the success of this system in the United States. This, he thinks, is seen in the respect for the Lord's day in this country, in the regard for conscience, and in the prayers with which each session is opened in the capitol at Washington, which, unlike the capitol at Rome, is not the symbol of oppression, but of liberty.

Finally, he comes to his darling plan of a union of the Episcopal Church of America with the Gallican Church of France. He regards this as the Church of the future, because its faith is pure and unspotted from the period of the apostles down to our day. Liberty and authority must be the foundation of a future union of Christendom, not despotism. The "majestic ritual" of the correct Anglo-Catholic Church caused the listeners to preserve the utmost decorum during the entire service, though the sermon was a strange performance for Lent. But we may thank Father Hyacinthe with all our heart that he extends his magnificent plan only to all "apostolic" and episcopal Churches, for in this way all other poor Protestant Christians are of course excluded from the electric stream of the apostolic succession.

The Religious Question still comes to the surface in the French Chambers very often, and for the peace of that country, and perhaps of the world, it is again postponed without a solution; for any positive solution just now would be likely to produce serious results. It is certain, at least, that a violent separation of Church and State just now would lead to grave consequences.

The Radicals desire that all property now in mortmain in the hands of the Church should be confiscated, for thus might be obtained the money to support the budget for public worship. But thoughtful men—and it is surprising how thoughtful these men often become when they reach the helm—felt the immense weight of their responsibility, and rejected most decidedly this break with the Church just at present. As Minister Goblet recently assured Clemenceau, the present government desires the separation of Church from State, and sees for the future no other solution to the question; but Goblet says that this separation must be prepared by measures that for the present are transient, and which may require a series of years to ripen to a conclusion. This is a very reasonable position, but one which is bitterly attacked by the united Radical left.

In the meanwhile the government, and with it also Protestantism, gained a slight victory in the matter. In a recent discussion of the budget, the commission went so far as to cut off the credit for the theological faculty and the seminaries of the Lutheran Reformed Church, since this has long been done for the Catholic Church. But in further discussion it was not forgotten that this scarcely affects the Roman Catholic faculties, because the instruction and the training of the young priests are given in their own schools, which live now as they did before, and have perhaps gained greater influence. They have their own endowment to fall back on, but what has the Protestant Church of France? Its schools are mere eleemosynary institutions, in which poor students find a meager

support, and the faculty is the only source of instruction of the young theologians. With them faculties and seminaries are closely allied, and the fall of the one would evidently drag down the other.

This condition of things was not unknown to certain members of this commission, and still the majority voted to strike out the credit, saying and understanding that faculties and seminaries must fall together; and that in order to be equally just to the Protestants and to the Catholics it would be necessary in some way to give them a support. They either did not see or did not heed; they wished the credit among their followers of doing a bold thing. But the government, which seeks as far as possible to avoid sharp conflicts, this time energetically defended the interests of Protestantism; and it succeeded in bringing about an understanding with the budget commission, in consequence of which the credits for the Protestant faculties and their seminaries should without debate be granted for another year. We may well conceive that this news caused much joy in the ranks of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches; but what a sad life they lead in having the Damocles sword ever over their heads, not knowing from year to year when it may fall! But this yearly danger and its annual escape ought to teach them to take active measures against the fate that awaits them—namely, self-support.

Workingmen's Colonies are proving quite a success in Germany. This is in reality another name for *tramps' homes;* that is, they are an experiment in the line of abolishing the tramp nuisance. There is now a Roman Catholic colony near Coblentz, and others are in prospect for Mecklenburg and even Poland. In Bavaria there is no sympathy shown for this benevolent enterprise (too much beer there, perhaps). In all the colonies, in 1886, 12,151 men were received, and 11,832 discharged. About 84 per cent. of these had been disciplined in some way by the police. At present there are about 1,519 in all the colonies, or refuges, as they are sometimes called.

And although the organization is yet imperfect, vagrant beggary is evidently on the decline in the neighborhood of these colonies. One of the provincial directors estimates that the province saved last year about $10,000 on account of these retreats for tramps, where they are made to work for what they get. The Prussian minister of the interior is so much pleased with the experiment that he lately granted 1,500 marks to the board of trust.

The same organization is also taking up the subject of care of habitual drinkers. The authorities are forced to confess that the consumption of strong liquors is greatly on the increase, thus adding to the production of tramps; and some legal measures of prevention are recommended to the imperial parliament: these are mainly a higher duty on liquors, and a restriction on their sale. Pastor Bodelschwing, who is the leading spirit in this movement, is quite discouraged at the coolness with which petitions in this line are received, and would establish what he calls *home colonies* for hard drinkers, where they can remain longer than in the

colonies, whose terms are seldom longer than from four to six months. Men cannot be cured of the passion for drink in so short a period; they do well while at work, but fall back as soon as they return to their haunts.

THE PROTESTANTS OF THE TYROL are greatly rejoiced that they are at last in possession of a place in which to worship, though under Austrian rule. The famous watering-place of Meran, the resort of so many invalids all summer long, and even into the late autumn, now offers to the Protestant heart a shrine wherein to worship God in simplicity and truth. It has cost a hard struggle to get it, and not a few years of work in various ways to secure the means. The edifice bears the name of "Christ Church," and is beautifully situated to attract the eye of all who enter Meran from Botzen, the usual approach of visitors.

Many of its adornments have come from different parts of Europe, as presents from those who have been frequent guests in this sanitarium. And it is not only foreigners who are pleased at the erection of this Protestant temple amid purely Catholic surroundings, but not a small number of the resident Lutheran Protestants rejoice that two deaconesses have started a Protestant school as a mission post. In 1837 the Lutherans were exiled from the land, as were their co-religionists from Strasburg in the last century. In 1859 the ban was raised by King William the Fourth of Prussia, who, while on his journey to Italy, passed through Meran, and succeeded in gaining some concessions for the Protestants.

After that period the Protestants were allowed to meet in private localities, and be served by pious laymen mainly. It seems quite exasperating that all this annoyance must be suffered in a private house; but such were the Catholic aggressions in the Tyrol down to the conflicts of '66 and '71. At last they succeeded in gaining permission to arrange a room as a church on their own private property. It was a glorious hour when the Protestants of Meran received the grant to construct a church for themselves, and on its arrival they sang with tearful eyes, "*Nun danket alle Gott!*" (Now all thank God!) The exceptional indorsement of a Protestant congregation in Meran was professedly only for visiting strangers and guests of the hotels; but in a little while the fever spread, and there is now also a Protestant congregation in Innspruck, which is a thorn in the side of the superstitious papists of that old town.

THE NATIVE AFRICANS are putting foreigners to shame by taking the sharpest measures to prevent the introduction of rum into their land. The emir of Rupe (on the Niger), in West Africa, thus writes to the colored Bishop Crowther: "A matter about which I would gladly talk to you I must write. It is no lengthy affair. It is only about rum (borasa). Rum has ruined our land. It has spoiled our nation. It has made our people crazy. I have now made a law that no rum shall be bought or sold. If any one is found selling rum his house shall be destroyed. Any body who is found drunk shall be killed. For the sake of God and the

prophet, dear Crowther, you must help us in this matter. You must not allow our land to be destroyed through rum. May God bless you in your work!" These are the words from the mouth of Mdiki, the emir of Rupe.

When a Bassuto chief died from the effects of rum, the chief, Letsee, at the earnest request of the missionaries, addressed a solemn warning to the people. A brother of the deceased king, Moschsh, went around as a temperance apostle, preaching every-where against rum; the result of this was that chiefs and people were seized with the excitement, so that all the priests and nearly all the people abjured rum entirely. Stern laws and measures were adopted against the importation of rum, and the liquor shops began to disappear.

This appeal has had its effect on the German public, now greatly incensed that certain houses will continue to send bad rum to African ports to destroy the souls and bodies of the poor blacks. The president of the German association against the use of spirituous liquors for the third time appeals to the parliament to take active measures to reduce the means of obtaining strong drink. The government promises to bring in a bill this winter, and in the meanwhile the German missionaries are circulating such literature as the above, in order to create in the public mind a disgust for the dealers who persist in sending rum to Africa.

The University of Berlin is in a very flourishing condition, the numbers reported for the winter semester being 5,357. This is the highest figure reached in any German university in modern times; it is an advance on the summer preceding of 1,066, and on the last winter semester of 165. This great number of students was divided among the faculties as follows: 794 in theology, 1,282 in jurisprudence, 1,297 in medicine, and 1,984 in the very various branches included in the German universities in the philosophical faculty. Prussia was the native land of 4,062, and 740 belonged to the remaining states of the empire. To foreign European states there belonged 381, and outside of European lands 174; of these latter 149 were from America, and 21 from Asia (the most of these from Japan). Besides the large number matriculated, 1,523 persons were authorized to hear the lectures, so that thus nearly 7,000 were in attendance on these. The faculty numbered 288, and of these 16 belong to the theological faculty.

In the University of Bonn there were in the last semester 1,121 students. Besides these were 74 not matriculated, so that the whole number was 1,195. In the Protestant faculty there were 122, in the Catholic faculty 86—there being two theological faculties in that university. The theological and the medical faculties are making the most increase there. There were three new professors in the Roman Catholic faculty; namely, Schrörs, Kirchkamp, and Fechtrup. These have referred the faculty statutes prescribed by the Tridentine Council to the hands of the dean, Prof. Kellner. To these statutes has lately been added that of papal infallibility.

A JUDAIC INSTITUTE is the latest addition to the University of Leipsic. For many years Prof. Delitzsch has been trying to effect this purpose, and has at last succeeded. This seminary is intended for the workers among the Jewish missions, in whatever capacity, either as missionaries or casual visitors in the service of the kingdom of God. They here receive a practical and scientific training, in an institution whose device is "Talk Kindly to Jerusalem."

A few months ago a schedule of studies was adopted; and this was quite rigidly adhered to, though but an experiment, during the last semester. The teachers number five; namely, Delitzsch, Faber, Lichtenstein, Cohn, and Anacker. Of these two are of Jewish extraction, and of genuine Talmudic-rabbinical culture. But the number of students was discouragingly small—only two—as the work is not very popular. One of these candidates was a German and the other a Dane, sent by the Society for the Conversion of the Jews in Denmark. There were a few who came simply as transient students for the most practical studies, from Finland, Cracow, and other regions. Besides their regular university studies they were enrolled as members of the Anglo-American Association founded by Delitzsch some twenty years ago for the purpose of exegetical studies; and they are also pupils of the Old Testament lessons of Dr. Baur. The schedule for the present semester includes an exegesis of the epistle to the Hebrews, with illustrations from Jewish literature by Lichtenstein, himself a Hebrew. Several other of the studies are specially calculated to meet the needs of an apostle to the Jews.

PROTESTANTISM IN SPAIN seems still to struggle on with a good measure of success. It is only twenty years that it has been permitted to show itself, and it now has about ten thousand adherents in some one hundred and fifty different points. It has not alone places of worship, but also schools and papers; and in the hospital of Madrid there is a separate ward for Protestants. The student Larranga, who had quite a conflict with the academic authorities, has been allowed to pass his licentiate examination, which closes his connection with the university; and he is the first student of a Spanish university that has remained a Protestant. He now goes to Germany to learn the language, and pass through a German university. More students from the Protestant gymnasium propose entering the university, and will, doubtless, be allowed to do so. This gymnasium is now receiving students from distant provinces of Spain, and it has in its corps of teachers an excellent German philologist, who is a fine scholar in the Romanic idioms.

THE DANISH BIBLE SOCIETY in Copenhagen, to which the British and Foreign Bible Society is about to yield the field, is making vigorous preparations to meet its responsibilities. For the purpose of securing the necessary financial support a yearly general collection will be granted it throughout the land. The society, which has lost a valuable worker in the death of Kaspar, sold last year over four thousand Bibles, and, since

its formation, about 590,000; while at the same time the British society circulated 48,000. In a pamphlet entitled "*Can Christians Recommend the Teachings of the Freethinkers?*" the chief of an hospital in Aalborg utters a warning against the growing dangers that threaten Christianity in Denmark, from the activity of certain teachers of the popular schools who are favorable to the doctrines of Grundvig, which are of a very rationalistic tendency, though wearing the guise of genuine Christianity. The author proves his position by quotations from their lectures, which contain the boldest attacks on the fundamental doctrines of Christianity.

The Norwegian Bible Society is also working with diligence. This is seen from its last annual exhibit, which reports a circulation of about 11,000 copies. But the Norwegians have a deal of trouble with the radical political element, which is generally of a rationalistic tendency in the matter of religion. Even the present highly liberal ministry are having trouble with that element, and are likely to lose their hold on it. Said ministry lately ordered the seizure of a highly sensational book, depicting the fate of a harlot in very minute and vulgar detail, and one calculated to corrupt the public mind. This measure created a great excitement among the working population of Christiania, and they got up a workingmen's procession, counted by thousands, to which quite a number of students attached themselves. All these, with a band of music and sixteen banners, appeared before the official residence of the premier, Sverdrup, in order to force a release of the book from ban. But this latter was maintained, and the minister who three years ago was the idol of the masses has now fallen under ban himself.

The Protestants of France are greatly encouraged by the success of the effort to make collections for the aid of their theological students, on account of the refusal of the Government to continue the system of stipendiums. These collections in the year past have actually exceeded at least what was called for, if not their needs. This aid for the students is so much the more necessary from the fact that the Church needs them so much. A large number of the parishes of the Reformed Church in France are still unsupplied. These vacancies occur mostly in the village parishes, because the pastors, it seems, much prefer the city to the village life. According to the last report there were no less than fifty-three vacancies, of which some have existed from eight to ten years. Indeed, in some of the churches the vacancy has lasted so long that the parish exists only in name. In the department of Sevres there are reported 11,333 Protestants, who, in consequence of the vacancy of two places, have been forced to remain a series of years entirely without pastors. On specially holy days these now go to the Catholic Church, in order not to be entirely without religious association.

"The German Templars," as they call themselves, are making a great success of their work in Palestine, notwithstanding the indifference or opposition at home in Würtemberg, and in the Holy Land itself. The

first colony was founded in Jaffa, in 1869; the second was Haifa, at the base of Mount Carmel; in 1872, Hoffmann, their leader, planted the third in Sharon; and in 1873 the fourth was founded in Jerusalem. In consequence of the Russo-Turkish war the colonies suffered much in their industries, but among themselves they became stronger and more united as to measures and policy. Islamism looks with jealous eyes on European culture of any kind, even of the soil, and therefore embarrasses instead of aiding them in their system and enterprises. This colonization has not been helped from Germany because of its religious leanings, although the colonial association has been appealed to. The German Government has always protected them by the presence of ships of war in the vicinity, in times of excitement against Christians; and of late the Würtemberg minister of the interior granted them 3,650 marks for their schools. This gives them the stamp of approval.

MISSIONARY INTELLIGENCE.

Our Foreign Missions in 1886.—How many of our pastors and laymen interested in our mission work will, we wonder, read the bulky Report of our Missionary Society? Perhaps a small percentage of the pastors will make occasion to give it a cursory examination, and regret that they have not time to possess themselves of the valuable information it contains. A still smaller percentage of laymen will look into it, and wonder why the interesting facts they find scattered through its three hundred and seventy-five pages cannot be given to the masses of the Church in a more available form. Many of our business men would unquestionably like to be better informed about the successes, the needs, the exact condition of our various missions, but cannot find time to examine and digest the annual reports, even if they receive them. If better informed, of course, they would give more intelligently; and to give more intelligently is to give more liberally. Our Church press gives, in one form and another, a great deal of missionary matter; and *The Gospel in All Lands* furnishes the busy pastor and inquiring layman twelve volumes yearly of cyclopedic information about general mission fields, societies, missionaries, statistics, etc., with much special matter about our own missions. But in the Annual Report we have such descriptions of particular missions, such accounts of progress, such statements of special difficulties and needs, as cannot be found elsewhere; and there is that opportunity of comparison of year with year which is not afforded by any other publication. We are persuaded that but few have learned the real value of these Annual Reports; and we are just as strongly convinced that it is of the highest importance that our people, ministerial and lay, should become acquainted with them. One way of interesting people in them is to point out their most interesting and important features. If some competent person were to take the proofs before the volume is issued, acquaint him-

self thoroughly with the contents of the reports of superintendents, presiding elders, and missionaries, and give a summary or survey for the year, quoting some of the more striking sentences and paragraphs, so as to give something of the tone of the reports as well as the facts, and issue it in a well-prepared sheet or pamphlet, a great and valuable service would be done. Most Methodists would read every word of it, and it would serve to direct the attention to the Report itself for further information.

The Sixty-eighth Report, edited by Dr. Reid, the senior secretary, and issued in April last, opens, according to the time-honored custom, with Africa, the oldest of our foreign missions. There is little enough of special interest in the fifteen pages devoted to it, save the account given by the secretary of Bishop Taylor's work on the Congo and in the coast countries bordering on it. The great want in Liberia seems to be church buildings, due perhaps to the want of a more energetic, enterprising membership. There is, however, a more encouraging tone in the reports this year, and it may be that the bishop will infuse some of his own energy and enterprise into conference and people. The bishop's work comprises two districts, the Upper Congo and the Angola. There are thirteen appointments in the former, and twenty-one in the latter, besides ten young people who are learning the language. We have now in Africa, not including Bishop Taylor's special work, 2,490 members.

For our South American Mission we have last year's appointments and last year's statistics, with only a page besides, stating that Bishop Fowler visited the field and reorganized the mission, and made important changes. Why South America sent no report is not explained. Our second oldest mission has not returned large results for fifty years' outlay. The year 1885, giving a net increase of about 150 members and probationers, was the best year the mission has had for a long period, if not the best since its organization. What is the matter?

In China, where we have been laboring thirty years, we have four missions, or rather had, before our work at Chungking, West China, was interrupted by mob violence. It is encouraging to be informed that the Chinese Government has very promptly paid the bill of damages, or about eighty per cent. of our claims, which promptness is in marked contrast to the dilatoriness of some other nations we know of, when China had valid claims to present. It is probable that the field will soon be occupied again. Of the other three missions Foochow has enjoyed the dignity of a Conference organization for ten years, and is in a very prosperous condition, under the care of its six native presiding elders. The reports of these district bishops make interesting reading. They give, in outline, pictures of the work in their respective fields, and we get a good idea of what they are doing, wherein they succeed and wherein they fail. Yek Ing Kwang, of the Hok-chiang District, says the people in the southern part of his territory are very ignorant and wicked, but the "dawn of the rising sun is appearing." In the northern part they are in good circumstances, but the devil has full sway, and it is "like the darkness when the sun has gone down." More preachers are needed to sow

the seed. That the district is not hopeless is shown by the fact that, as the result of the year's work, over one hundred persons have been received into the Church. This success is due to the "harmony between the preachers appointed by the Conference and the local preachers," and to the faithfulness of both classes, who neither "dread long distances nor the dangers of the way." It is "common for persons to become inquirers because of sickness or possession of evil spirits." They believe in Taoist priests and evil spirits, and are wild and turbulent. The elder pithily describes the various congregations. At one place the members "zealously hold the truth," and are increasing every year; at another there is much improvement—the members confide in God, as did the saints of old; at another, the members love one another, and are "as the salt of the earth, the light of the world;" at another, the members are "doing well, and occasionally bringing others in." Hu Po Mi, of the Hing-hwa District, speaks of a class-leader who is good in exhortation and diligent in witnessing for the cause of Christ; "but as to contributing money for church purposes, he usually leaves that for others to do." On a certain circuit, the "preacher in charge being a doctor, the work does not prosper," but the "local preachers are to be relied on." Over forty men and women have become inquirers in the district, and "whole families have been brought into the Church, and are devout worshipers." Hwong Pau Seng, of the Ing-Chung District, says the people he works among are in a pitiable state, like sheep without a shepherd; the prey of Yamen runners. He notices improvement: "Formerly, when we went out to preach the Gospel, the people feared, and dared not come near us; but as they have heard more they have understood better, and their doubts as to our purposes have ceased. During the fourth quarter, in company with one of the preachers, I visited many villages. After preaching, and as the people were about to disperse, it was our custom to sing a hymn, and ask them to join us. This they did; and most of them would kneel while prayer was offered by one of us. The prospect is certainly hopeful for the spread of the Gospel." There has not been much progress in the Yen-Ping District, writes Sia Sek Ong, but there is improvement in some places. Backsliders have been reclaimed. Among the converts was one man of fierce disposition, nicknamed the "Tiger." He has been wholly changed, and the people observe with amazement the power of the truth upon him. One of the features of the work in the Kucheng District is the fact that several persons of the literary class have become inquirers. The net gain in the Conference was nearly three hundred. Causes of friction in the Central China Mission have been removed, and a prosperous year has been enjoyed. In North China we are becoming stronger every year. Self-support is receiving thoughtful attention, and various plans are adopted by the congregations for raising money. Our school and hospital and press agencies in China are well conducted and effective. We have now nearly 4,100 communicants in China.

The Germany and Switzerland Conference has been divided, and each country has a Conference. The work in Germany is a steady and effective

work, and Methodism doubtless has a prosperous future before it in the empire. The Conference in Switzerland is small, but begins under favorable auspices.

Sweden proves to be good ground for Methodism. The increase of members for that country and Finland is 1,061. New fields are being occupied. Lutheran school-houses are frequently opened for services, and sometimes even the doors of state churches swing open to the preacher. In Norway Methodism commands public respect, and is exerting a large influence. The same is true of Denmark, in a lesser degree.

Our mission in India is now thirty years old, and the manner in which it has been extended from north to south, from east to west, is marvelous. Next year the report will describe the work of three Conferences instead of two, and what changes the General Conference of 1888 will authorize no one can predict. At a joint meeting of the North and South India Conferences in February, the Conference lines were rearranged and a new Conference organized, to be known as the Bengal Conference. Part of the territory in North India hitherto included in the South India Conference is now joined to the North India Conference The Bengal Conference includes Bengal, Burmah, and the Straits settlements. The year in India has been prosperous, and there have been large ingatherings. In the North India Conference the work among the Chumars, who are low caste, is going bravely forward. The people are leaving off idolatry, and receiving the Christian faith. They make faithful, helpful Christians. Missionary Bare, of Shahjehanpore, made a tour in the country, and great crowds assembled in school-houses, private houses, bazars, streets, and fields, to hear the word, and there are many inquirers. One whole village of a dozen families was put down on the inquiry list. Pahnapore has become a Christian village. Our church there has 189 members. The native minister of the Bilsi Circuit says the people are growing in grace, dropping their old customs, and becoming more intelligent Christians. Although ignorant in other matters, they can generally explain why they are Christians. Another preacher writes that when the people talk seriously they confess that idol-worship is foolishness, and that Christianity is the religion by which to get to heaven. Among the accessions in Lucknow all castes are represented. Some interesting cases are described. The net gain in the Conference was 1,649—854 members and 795 probationers. The contributions for self-support, however, show a falling off, although the principle seems to have been diligently inculcated, at least on some of the circuits. In the South India Conference a more determined effort to reach the natives has been made, without neglecting the large English work, and success has not been wanting. A further advance in this direction is to be made the present year, and the force of missionaries will be greatly strengthened. Dr. Thoburn says an opening has been found among the Mohammedans, in Pakour, 170 miles north of Calcutta, the most hopeful we have in India. Twenty or more have been baptized. The statistics of the Conference are, unfortunately, not new.

Bishop Ninde, who visited Bulgaria last year, thinks the question of discontinuing that mission ought not to be mooted. Though our progress is slow, the future is hopeful. Open opposition has ceased, young men and officials often attend the services, and the missionaries are treated with respect and kindness. He speaks of a gain of members and adherents. The table of statistics shows a gain of 10 members, but a loss of 17 probationers. The gain of adherents is 70.

The mission in Italy reports a gain in communicants of only 12; but (so says the Report) it begins another year more hopefully.

Japan is one of the richest of mission fields. Insulated peoples seem to be more accessible to the missionary than continental nations. Witness the South Sea Islands, Madagascar, and New Zealand. Much less Christian work has been done in Japan than in China, but the response has been swift and generous. The garments of heathenism are falling away from it, and it is ready to be clothed with Christ. The only question is, Are the Churches ready? Our mission in Japan is only fifteen years old, and yet we have 2,204 members and probationers; a gain for the year of 556, or more than thirty-three per cent. And much greater results could be obtained with a larger force. The secretaries say a hundred men, if they could be sent, would not supply all the openings. "For want of means and men much has been lost, never to be regained;" for while Christians are sleeping the enemy is sowing the tares of Free Thought and Atheism. Of the East-Tokio District Dr. Maclay writes: "The people are alert, progressive, and seem disposed to welcome the Gospel. The imperative demand is for more preachers." For the West-Tokio District a similar report is made: "Our work is seriously hindered, because we do not have evangelists to meet the demand for Christian instruction." In the Yokohama District there are "glorious opportunities" presented every-where "for enlarging the work and planting the Church of Christ." "A rich harvest for the Church is before us," is the report from the Nagasaki District; and from the Hokaido and North Hondo District notice is given of the necessity of preparing to reach multitudes. The contributions toward self-support in Japan were $4,118, an increase of over $1,000.

The reports from Mexico, which is now divided into three districts, contain encouraging features; but the statistics show a small decrease in the total of members and probationers. It is a hard field; but we will not be discouraged with a membership of 1,354, and 4,745 adherents. The Presbyterians lost enormously last year, according to their statistical report, the explanation being that former reports had been too inclusive.

Korea, our newest foreign field, is given thirteen pages in the report, and they are very interesting. The present is a period of preparation. No open evangelistic work is attempted, but much is done in the medical and educational departments. The attention of the government, we learn from a recent letter, has been attracted to this work, and the king has given favorable recognition of it. The mission reports one probationer nad 100 adherents.

This completes the list of our foreign missions, in connection with which there are 118 missionaries and 76 assistant missionaries, and 57 missionaries of the W. F. M. S. The number of ordained native preachers is 328, a gain of 19; and of unordained native preachers, 413, a gain of 13. There are 40,213 members, a gain of 3,263; and 14,266 probationers, a gain of 3,194. In the eight theological schools there are 167 students, in the 17 high schools 1,639 pupils, and in the 598 day-schools 18,683 scholars. There are 396 churches and chapels, worth $1,320,536, and other property worth $750,000. The collections for self-support aggregate $92,490, against $74,347 in the previous year.

The Tongan Massacre.—We have noticed several times in these pages, particularly in the numbers for May, 1886, and May, 1887, the secession from the Wesleyan Church in Tonga, and the course of the leading seceders in persecuting the remnant refusing to join their so-called Free and Independent Church. In the last number of the Review we showed how cruel these persecutions were, and what trivial pretexts were seized upon to condemn faithful Christian natives to long terms of imprisonment, and to pay fines which they could not possibly raise. The case of Joel Nau, a faithful old native preacher who had done excellent missionary service in other islands, was given, and so insignificant were the acts upon which the charges were based, and so severe was the penalty pronounced, that it seemed incredible that such a case could occur outside of a barbarous country like Uganda. But later revelations put this illustration of the kind of justice an English missionary may administer quite into the shade. Shirley Baker, who, until he was removed in 1881, was superintendent for the Australasian Wesleyan Missionary Society of the Friendly Islands District, including Tonga, has caused fifty or more natives to be put to death under circumstances which make it not a judicial execution, but a massacre. The story is almost too horrible for belief; but unfortunately it is only too true. We give the story as we gather it from several different sources, Wesleyan, Roman Catholic, and otherwise.

On the evening of January 13, Premier Baker, while riding in his buggy, with his son and daughter, was fired upon from behind a hedge. Several men were in the party, and seeing them, Mr. Baker called to his son, who jumped down from the carriage, and approaching one of them ordered him to give up his gun. Instigated by his comrades the man fired, wounding the son in the arm. No shot was fired at Mr. Baker, for the reason, it is thought, that the men could not get him in range without imperiling his daughter. When the shot was fired at the son the men all fled. The horse sprang forward at the discharge of the gun and threw Miss Baker out, whereupon Mr. Baker, who had seen his son's arm shattered, drove away furiously, leaving both son and daughter to care for themselves. In a few minutes natives arrived and carried the son to a house near by. The premier, on entering his own house, fell in a faint, showing that he had been badly frightened. Fearing further attacks he asked the protection of the

British flag. As he boasted of being a citizen of Tonga, his action in putting himself under British protection was denounced as cowardly by the natives. Not daring to trust the Tonga soldiers, he sent for the Haabai and Vavau warriors, who came in great numbers by vessels, and began immediately to persecute and pillage. The Wesleyan College was visited, divinity students taken out and beaten, and property appropriated. Towns and villages were looted for miles around, and many Wesleyans lost every thing. In many cases Wesleyans were compelled to join the Free Church at the muzzle of a musket.

The men who attacked the premier were believed to be outlaws, men who had been imprisoned and broken loose, and over whose heads a reward was set. They gave themselves up, however. They were treated with great cruelty. The trials were conducted with closed doors. No Wesleyans or Catholics or Europeans were admitted, save the German proconsul and the British vice-consul. The latter did not understand the language, and was not allowed to have an interpreter. The jury was "packed." Mr. Baker himself presided, assisted by the Rev. J. B. Watkin, both ex-Wesleyan missionaries. Baker addressed the jury, reminded them that one of the prisoners had confessed, which is denied, and went out with them. Of course, a verdict of guilty was rendered, and the prisoners were condemned to be shot. While being removed for execution two of the men confessed to Baker that they alone were guilty, that the plot was political, involving a number of chiefs who had become restive under the tyranny of the premier, and that the Wesleyans were in no way concerned in it. The execution was conducted in a barbarous manner. A petition to the king, asking him to reprieve the unfortunate men, signed by all the Europeans, and by Roman Catholic priests and Wesleyan ministers, was prepared, but Baker, on learning that the name of Mr. Moulton, superintendent of the Wesleyan mission, was on it, refused to allow it to go to the king. On the 3d of February six more natives were condemned to be shot, after a trial conducted by Baker, and subsequently thirty more were similarly condemned. The Wesleyans were practically outlawed, at last accounts, and all sorts of indignities were being visited upon them. They were hoping that a French man-of-war would arrive and put a stop to the atrocities of Baker, even if annexation to France were the penalty.

King George is too old to take an active part in the affairs of government, having passed his eighty-sixth year, and Baker is virtually king, and is restrained, it would seem, by nothing in carrying out his purposes. What particular set of influences has operated upon him to make a monster out of a once reputable Wesleyan missionary we do not know.

In 1884 the Wesleyan Church in Tonga had 18,500 adherents. At the beginning of the present year there were only 2,100. This number must have been greatly reduced by the recent persecutions.

THE MAGAZINES AND REVIEWS.

THERE is a certain truculent vein in the mental make-up of the Duke of Argyle which gives spiciness to whatever he writes. Like Prof. Whewell, his foible is omniscience. It is nevertheless to be admitted that very few public men, and still fewer titled men, have any thing like the range of information and the solid ability of the Scotch peer. In the March number of the *Nineteenth Century* he criticises the article by Prof. Huxley in a previous number of the Review, in which the Professor attempts a reply to a part of a sermon by Canon Liddon. Canon Liddon had alluded to the credibility of miracles, re-stating the argument that miracles do not necessarily pre-suppose any violation of the laws of nature. He also used the familiar phrase, "the suspension of a lower law by the intervention of a higher," as when a man lifts his arm against the law of gravitation. This led Professor Huxley to write on Scientific and Pseudo-scientific Realism. It is very interesting to observe that in this paper the Professor repudiates altogether the argument which the preacher ascribes to physicists, and he denies that they withhold belief in miracles because they are in violation of natural law. He disclaims the assumption that we know the whole region of natural law, so as to be able to say that any given wonder cannot possibly be wrought by means of some law unknown to us. He withholds or suspends belief in miracles on deficiency of evidence, and even goes out of his way to show that science has now before it some hints, guesses, and surmises of the ultimate constitution of matter which bring some miracles which are difficult of acceptation within the limits of conceivability and physical causation. The Duke takes up the cudgels with great vigor in defense of the preacher, who is charged by the Professor with being a realist as much as Scotus Erigena, because he talks about the laws of nature as if they were things, or beings, or entities. The Professor claims that a law is not a thing. From this the Duke concludes that nothing is real which is not also a thing. When it is ascertained what the Professor means by a thing, we are forced to conclude that he means some bit, or, as it may be, some lump of matter. There is some excellent wit in this paper, called in to aid the Duke's logic in showing that there are abstract conceptions which are realities. Thus, the word "vegetable" represents an abstract idea, and according to Huxley has no reality. But a potato is a reality—an individual potato; not the idea of potato as a species, but only the individual potato—or an onion, which we can handle, boil, or eat. On the same principle there is no such thing as a professor or a preacher. There is only the man Professor Huxley, and the man Canon Liddon. If Canon Liddon is to be committed on this ground he may well feel sure that the Professor will be found standing in the dock beside him. Professor Huxley is reminded by the Duke that when he speaks on any question of biology he may speak authoritatively, but when he speaks of metaphysics or philosophy he speaks only with the authority which belongs to acute and powerful

minds when dealing with subjects on which other minds, equally powerful and acute, have differed and do differ widely. The reply to the Professor is also singularly acute on this point that, taking the scholastic as well as scientific idea that the universe is the manifestation of rational order, we must understand an order which is perceivable and intelligible to all faculties which make up the rational nature of men. The final conclusion of the Duke with regard to Professor Huxley's attack on the preacher is that he has been amusing himself with a metaphysical exercitation or logomachy. For once the pulpit has been far more philosophical than the chair. The Philosophy of Nescience has nothing to offer to mankind unless it be some results of caution.

The article in this number by the Rev. Dr. Jessup on the "Trials of a Country Parson," though referring to English life, shows that the country parson has every-where, in all countries, to endure about the same trials. It is evident that the English country parson suffers from the idea in the mind of his city brother that his money will go much farther than in the city. There are demands made upon his purse that approximate in intensity those made upon the city preacher. We commend this paper strongly to the attention of country ministers, for it has most intelligent sketches of character, and it has great wit. A sure sign that Mr. Gladstone is out of office is the appearance of articles by him in the Reviews. Thus we have the beginning of a series of articles in this number on the "Greater Gods of Olympus," this one being especially devoted to a Homeric study of Poseidon.

There are two articles only in the March *Contemporary Review* which are likely to attract the American reader. The first, by Captain Condor, on the "Old Testament Ancient Monuments and Modern Critics," compares the researches of Wellhausen with the facts of Oriental antiquity. To begin with, as to a very important question, namely, the origin of the sacred name of Jehovah and the diffusion of his worship, our critic informs us that Jehovah is to be regarded as the tribal or family God of the tribe of Moses, or of the tribe of Joseph; and in another passage we gather that his name was confined to Palestine alone. The Bible says otherwise, for Balaam, from Pethor on the Euphrates, adored Jehovah; Uriah the Hittite bears a name which suggests his worship of the same God. But for those who follow Wellhausen slavishly, not being able to quote the Bible against Wellhausen, the author calls attention to the recent discovery by Mr. Pinches, that the holy name appears on the cuneiform inscriptions as early as nine hundred years before Christ. It forms part of the royal names of the kings of Hamath before the captivity of Israel. It appears on Phenician inscriptions, not only in Assyria, but even in Malta and other Mediterranean islands. The testimony of the monuments accords with the words of Malachi, and shows us that almost as early as the days of Solomon the name Jehovah was adored by the Semitic peoples from Nineveh to Sidon and from Pethor to Jerusalem. The critical school of Gaf do not believe that any tabernacle (*ohel*) existed

in the wilderness. In Phenician inscriptions the word *ohel* occasionally occurs, and among the spoils taken by Thothmes III. at Megiddo were "seven poles of the pavilion of the enemy plated with silver." Thus we know that not only were arks and altars borne both in Assyria and in Egypt before the army, but tents, with plated pillars not unlike the *ohel* of the Pentateuch, were used in the field as early as the time of Moses. When Wellhausen regards the use of incense and the table of show-bread as evidences of a late period of writing, we must remember that incense was brought by the Syrians to Thothmes III., and that censers and a table piled with loaves like the show-bread are shown on very early Egyptian pictures. Captain Condor makes short work of Wellhausen's teaching, that whenever there is a resemblance between the Hebrew and Assyrian narrative the Hebrew borrowed from the Assyrian, and shows in one particular case that it could not have been imported before the time of Solomon. He remarks that there is a very close connection between the early story of Genesis and the Izdubar legends, but there is no identity. Had there been direct borrowing, the student of traditions would find much more exact resemblances. The names of Noah and Adam do not occur in other than the Hebrew narrative. The actors and the actions are very often different from those of the early chapters of Genesis. In regard to the notice of Ur in Genesis, Wellhausen sees in this name a later tradition of Hebrew migration. But it seems well settled that Ur is an Akkadian or Turanian word, and its occurrence in Genesis may be considered a mark of antiquity. Ur means "the city," and is perhaps to be identified with Ur-Uk, the "great city," once a sea-port on the Euphrates. The captain convicts Wellhausen either of gross mistake or sheer ignorance when he makes Baal represent "the female principle." It is evident that if, as Wellhausen says, the Hebrew religion dispensed with conceptions of heaven and hell, it differed widely from that of their contemporaries, for it is proven by Assyrian research that long before the days of Moses the Semitic peoples believed in future reward and punishment. This article is full of valuable matter, and shows how slow the Church ought to be in accepting the results of what is called "the higher criticism."

The other paper referred to is that by Dr. James Martineau, on "The National Church as a Federal Union." As might be expected, Dr. Martineau scouts any other than a spiritual unity. He dreams, however, of such an enlargement of the scope of the English Church by dis-establishment as would plainly be an emergence into fresher inspirations and more fruitful labor. The article is valuable as showing how inevitably the force of the drift toward dis-establishment increases, and how the problems of that great work are already in process of solution.

The *London Quarterly* has less of American interest than usual, though all its papers are valuable for the student and literary man. The first notes the contrast between the Jewish and the Christian Messiah. Concerning the author of the *Greville Memoirs*, an unknown writer speaks as follows: "A conscientious chronicler and genial gossiper in the true line of succession from Pepys, but more solid in his tastes and more varied in his

expression." This comment on Greville is very just. So rich are his memoirs that it would be impossible to write the recent history of Europe without comparing his work with all that has gone before. The last volume is not so rich in personal gossip as the two which have preceded it; but this is due to the fact that he was shut out in some of his later years by ill health from the social life which so strongly attracted him in his youth and middle manhood.

The capacity of our institutions to develop a self-regulating and self-reforming element is admirably shown in the many discussions of our political methods and life which are now appearing in the current reviews and magazines. Recent notable revelations of Mr. Ivins, Chamberlain of New York, as to the cost of election to the chief offices in that city, have done a great deal toward calling attention to the immense power which money wields in city elections, and to the danger arising from the fact that to some offices men cannot be nominated unless they are possessed of large wealth, or willing to donate a very considerable portion of their office fees to the political managers and heelers who proffer and sustain the nomination. The veteran David Dudley Field, who at eighty is still one of the most active of our public men, writes in the *North American* for April on open nominations and free elections, declaring that we have in theory both, but that we have them not in practice. Twenty-five thousand persons in New York compel the two hundred and fifty thousand or three hundred thousand voters to vote for those whom they nominate. If they do not so vote their vote is thrown away. Mr. Field speaks none too strongly when he says: "Such an arrangement of government, however brought about, whether by law or custom, is unendurable, and, if not changed, must end in a catastrophe. The chief men of the city in its business life are compelled to say, in respect of their influence for or against any measure pending in the legislature, that they have none. The ward politician, the boss of the primaries, the man who haunts the corner grog-shop, these are the men of the chief political influence in New York." Mr. Field looks toward a constitutional provision that every man who would vote at the election must take part in the nomination. He claims that it would be a great advance if the legislature would provide by law for paying the election expenses of all candidates nominated in a particular manner. He suggests that registration in cities should be made early in October, next before an election; that at the time of registration the voter should be required to name the person whom he would nominate for the office to be filled, and that the persons thus nominated by a certain number—say one tenth of the voters registered—should have their ballots printed and distributed at the expense of the county. He also advocates greater secrecy in balloting, and the prevention of traitorous exchanges of ballots without the knowledge of the candidates.

Gail Hamilton contributes the denominational paper to this number of the *North American*, and shows why she is a Congregationalist;

admitting at the beginning that she is a Congregationalist because her fathers were, and, secondly, by conviction, because Congregationalism, considered as a policy and not as a creed, seems to combine in the happiest proportions individual religious freedom with social religious organization. To this writer all ecclesiasticism is of human origin. She claims no divine right for Congregationalism beyond the simple promise of Christ to the two or three that are gathered in his name. The chief advantage of Congregationalism in her mind is, that it interposes the least possible machinery between man and his Maker. There are many vigorous sentences in this article. For instance: "When the rest of the world is swinging its censer, and broidering its garments in the name of Christ, it is the part of Congregationalism to remind the world by example, rather than precept, that this is not Christianity. It may accompany worship, but worship is other than this." And the following: "Great men rise above all denominational limits, and appeal to the great congregation of the universal reason. The great man is, I think, never great as a churchman. He is great outside and above his church—no, he is even generally at odds with his church. Its bands hang loosely upon him, and they who are held together only by bands rise in bold, free flight." The article is well worth reading.

The chief interest of the *Andover Review* still continues to be found in its editorial departments. Of the four contributed articles the titles of but two are attractive, namely, "The Mormon Propaganda" and the "Nature of the Working of the Christian Consciousness;" while the four editorial articles are all of them strikingly interesting. The first is on the "Worth and Welfare of the Individual." In considering the criticism of *The Independent* on "Future Probation," there is an excellent summary of the position held by Professor Fisher, and defended at length in the editorial article, that sinners, at least among the heathen, can be saved without faith in an historical Christ. And again we are amazed that this should be hailed as a new view, when, among Methodists, it has been held from the beginning that the conscientious heathen, seeking after and reaching out toward the essential Christ, can be saved, and has been saved. Yet here we find it stated almost as a novelty. If Professor Fisher holds it, he holds the only view which is defensible. The atonement is a visible expression of the divine love and of the divine intent to save men if they will let themselves be saved; and those who have not heard of that atonement in the historic sense, but thrust themselves out toward the fatherly side of God in all sincerity of repentance, faith, and good works, may well be thought to be accepted in the sight of God.

There is also a long sketch of the life and work of Henry Ward Beecher, which is highly commendatory as a whole. Taken together, it is the best analysis of the temper and method of Mr. Beecher that we have seen. The writer admits that the theological element in the teaching of Mr. Beecher was undoubtedly inadequate. The man was of the poetic and not of the scientific cast.

The *New Englander and Yale Review* certainly improves in interest under the hand of its new editor, Thomas R. Bacon. Its five contributed articles discuss Tolstoi's novels: "Charity Organization," a "Social Study," "McClellan's Own Story," and "Education at the South"—this last topic treated by Ex-Governor Chamberlin. Mr. Richardson does not find that McClellan's own story is a justification of his inveterate habit of delay. The social study relates to what has been called "The Rebellion of the Majority;" namely, the efforts of the wage-earners to obtain a larger proportion of the profits of business. The editor writes an article upon "The Yale Student," in review of President Dwight's address upon that subject, which was certainly one of the best ever delivered on student life. The April number opens with a discussion of the difficulties of the Indian problem, by S. A. Galpin, which shows that the enthusiasts of the Indian Rights Association have something to inspire them as well as to discourage them. Professor Seymour, recently returned from abroad, has a charming paper upon "Life in Modern Greece." John Bascom's paper on "Scientific Theism," in review of Dr. Francis E. Abbott's "Organic Scientific Philosophy," is well worth reading.

The *Unitarian Review* for March has for its leading paper a description of the Harvard divinity school. From this article it would appear that the number of students is extremely small, the largest number in the seven years from 1872 to 1879 being twenty-three, and from 1879 to 1885 the highest number being twenty-nine. This is spoken of as a most gratifying increase, although in two or three of these years the number was as small as the lowest of the preceding period. This divinity school is called unsectarian, but its professorships are filled by men of various denominational affinities, and it accepts foundations for professorships to be filled by men who do not teach systematic theology from the standpoint of the orthodox denominations. It seems a curious fact, that side by side with theological teaching from a Unitarian point of view the teaching of the orthodox denominations is also given. Dr. Everett does not think, however, that a collision of teaching is as frequent as might be supposed. It is certainly a unique school in which, while the theology is Unitarian, the exegesis may be Trinitarian.

Our neighbor of the *Church Review* succeeds in treating matters of contemporary interest as well of those of permanent and historical value. In the March number the Rev. Dr. Charles H. Hall, of Brooklyn, discusses Mexico and Hayti, with reference to the constitution of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and has some hard raps for the way in which the Protestant Episcopal Church has been managed in both these fields. Rev. W. L. Robbins, in Non-theistic ethics, inveighs with only just vigor against the effort of the Society of Ethical Culture to convince them that righteousness is a thing independent of God, and that faith is only a clog to good works. The April number has several articles of value to those outside of that denomination in the excellent paper on

"The Theories of the Holy Union," by Rev. W. D. Wilson, D.D., and in the review of Mommsen's "Provinces of the Roman Empire," by the Rev. W. Epiphanius Wilson.

The *Presbyterian Review* is as solid and substantial as its time-honored polity. Opening with a stately article upon the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, by the Rev. Henry J. Van Dyke, D.D., it passes on, after one or two other papers, to discuss the question "Were the Apostles Prelates?" This is done by the Rev. Professor Thomas Witherow in what is altogether the most interesting paper in the number. Professor Candlish examines Reformation theology in the light of modern knowledge, and reaches the conclusion that the theology of the Reformers stands the test of modern knowledge better than that of their successors in the seventeenth century, the reason being that the Reformers possessed intensity of religious feeling, and also sympathy with the best learning of their day. In the paper on the question "Were the Apostles Prelates?" the author substantially adopts the view of Bishop Lightfoot; not that the apostle of the first century broadened down into the congregational bishop of the second century and the prelate of the fourth, but that the prelate gradually rose and developed out of the presiding presbyter. Thus the congregational bishop developed into a primate, and the primitive parish became a diocese. The bishop of the third century was a very humble and modest officer of the Church, but after the union of Church and State he grew into the full-blown primate. By the fifth and sixth centuries the hierarchy was fully developed, and from the end of the sixth century we may regard the apex of the ecclesiastical pyramid as completed by the popedom.

The *Southern Methodist Review* for March opens with a vindication of the original status of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and of its episcopacy, by John J. Tigert, in which good use is made of the celebrated letter of Bishop Coke quoted by Dr. Atkinson at page 74 of his Centennial History. W. T. Bolling has an article on Methodism and ministerial education. A warning is sounded against the tendency to have no other than a college-bred ministry. The following sentences are worth attention: "If we depend upon the brain of the clergy to overcome the infidelity of our times, we may as well surrender now. No man's infidelity was ever of the head first, but of the heart. 'The fool hath said in his heart there is no God;' and the theory of driving it from the heart by beginning at the brain will not do."

Christian Thought for April has a portrait of Dr. M. Miskaka, called the Luther of Syria; and another of the (Samaritan) high-priest, Jacob. The leading article is by Dr. George B. Stevens, of Yale, on "Reason as a Basis for Theistic Belief," a highly creditable paper for the young professor. This number also prints the "Functions of Christian Doctrine," by Dr. J. E. Rankin, and an exposition of Wilfred Hall's "Substantial Philosophy."

Bishop Janssens, in the March number of the *Catholic World*, discusses the negro problem in its relation to the Catholic Church. It is a strong appeal to the Catholic body to attempt the work of catholicizing the negro; admitting that it can be done, however, only by the black priesthood. "They do not want," he says, "our preachers, and I do not know of any preacher outside the Catholic Church who has ever exercised any religious influence over them; while on the other hand the colored preacher is, as a rule, highly respected, and willingly obeyed by his congregation." Dr. Henry A. Brann examines the land theories of Henry George with a sharply critical eye, and very successfully refutes the doctrine that private ownership of land is public robbery.

The best thing in the April number of the *Homiletic Review* is a criticism, by an eminent professor of homiletics, on Dr. Talmage, which is to be followed by others on Spurgeon, Beecher, Phillips Brooks, John Hall, and William M. Taylor. The criticism is kindly but sharp.

The *Brooklyn Magazine* has blossomed into the *American Magazine*, an illustrated representative of American thought and life. The first number is out for May, and is excellent in appearance, sufficiently well illustrated with pictures of American authors, and compares well with its long-established predecessors.

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

Word-Studies in the New Testament. By MARVIN R. VINCENT, D.D. Vol. I. The Synoptic Gospels, Acts of the Apostles, Epistles of Peter, James, and Jude. 8vo, pp. 822. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

The title given to this work is especially a felicitous indication of its purpose and character. It is something more than a verbal criticism of a part of the New Testament. The subjects discussed are primarily words in their individuality, their genesis, history, relations, and their accommodated uses; and afterward of their force and meanings in the places where they occur. The work is thus made to occupy a place between a lexicon and a commentary, having some of the properties of both, and so amplifying these as to give it a character of its own. The necessary insufficiency of any translation to retain and reproduce in another language the finer shades of meaning of the words of the original—upon which also, in many cases, the best sense of the utterance depends—is recognized, and perhaps rather strongly stated, through not noticing considerations which modify and mitigate the confessed fact. This infelicity it is the purpose of these *Word-Studies* as far as possible to obviate, in the effort toward which it must be granted that the author has succeeded fairly well. While it is true that for the great mass of readers, not only the unlearned but also the so-called liberally educated — all

but one of a thousand—their chief source of information respecting the contents and doctrines of the Bible is their vernacular version, it is also true that the spirit and the truth of Holy Scripture are so diffused through and through the sacred text, in its entirety rather than in its verbal details, that any one really familiar with a version as imperfect and inadequate as our authorized English Bible is confessed to be will be pretty safely guarded against both "error in religion" and "viciousness in life." Still it is well that there shall be the fullest and most exact knowledge of whatever may be contained in the written word; and for the attainment of such knowledge books of this character are valuable helps.

It is manifest in the work itself, as the author himself also declares, that it has been performed much more as a labor of love than as simply a task of learned criticism, and accordingly some of its best features have resulted from that condition of the case; for the most fruitful thinking is done without the constraining sense of necessity to determine and declare matured results. While it is true in literature, as in nature, that we usually find only what we look for, it is equally true in both cases that, after the mind's eyes have been opened, the most valuable as well as the most pleasing "finds" are made without having been previously specifically objects of pursuit. That the author of this volume so came into possession of some of his best thoughts scarcely admits of a question, and his appreciative readers will share with him the joy occasioned by his findings. It is the best service of criticism to point out such excellencies as are equally obvious to all who are capable of knowing them, and therefore Dr. Vincent's volume will be most valued by adepts in New Testament Greek. It is, further, no inconsiderable recommendation to this work that it may be used, and its proffered advantages made available, without the drudgery of study. The work might, with propriety, be called "*Diversions*" or "*Amenities*" of New Testament criticism; and it will probably yield its best profits when used as such, rather than for necessary studies.

This volume, covering only part of the books of the New Testament, is itself the promise of another, for the production of which the author places himself under obligations. It will be seen that the parts omitted comprise the whole of the writings of John and Paul, and precisely in these are found the most fruitful fields for *Word-Studies*. No doubt our author will find abundant and valuable gleanings in them. The material make-up of the book deserves decided commendation in respect to both the materials used and the character of the mechanical work. It is a valuable contribution to critical and exegetical literature.

Introduction to the Catholic Epistles. By PATON J. GLOAG, D.D., Minister of Galashiels, author of *An Introduction to the Pauline Epistles*, etc. 8vo, pp. 416. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner & Welford.

It is an encouraging fact that students of the Bible are no longer satisfied with merely textual study; that in addition to the older commentaries on the sacred text, with their verbal exegesis and "improvements," there is

a demand for broader and more comprehensive presentations of the Bible as a whole, and of the several parts of it in their individuality and entirety. The demand thus made is responded to, at least in part, in the many and thoroughly learned and able "introductions" to the Bible as a whole, or to its several portions, which have appeared within a few years in both German and English. The special value of these works is not so much in their wider knowledge of the subjects considered as in their improved methods of arranging and presenting their matter, and especially in substituting for continuous treatises on the whole Bible, which was the older form, monographs and special studies of single books or classes of books.

The work now before us is of this latter class. Its author has been for some years recognized as an able biblical scholar, learned and liberal, and yet eminently conservative in dealing with biblical subjects. His *Messianic Prophecies* (first delivered as the Baird Lecture for 1879), and his *Acts of the Apostles*, a critical and exegetical commentary, have received emphatic commendations from our ablest scholars and critics; but his *Introduction to the Pauline Epistles* lies more exactly in the line of the present work, and, to all who are acquainted with it, it will prove the best commendation to that now in hand. As between German writers in this department and those who use the English language, while recognizing the value of the indefatigable painstaking and attention to details of the former, we still prefer the free and broader methods of the latter, and their better methods of collection of details and of seizing and grouping results; and in these qualities our present author largely excels.

In dealing with the Catholic Epistles a large number of somewhat difficult questions required careful attention. The three principal ones, James, 1 Peter, and 1 John—have a well-ascertained canonicity, and they are universally conceded to be among the ablest and most valuable of the apostolical writings; but they still present some not inconsiderable difficulties in respect to their relations to each other, and still more so in respect to the Pauline Epistles. The author's treatment of these cases is eminently satisfactory. Respecting the other four, and minor epistles—2 Peter, Jude, and 1 and 2 John—the work was more difficult, and the conclusions reached more doubtful. The early Church long hesitated respecting them, and had they never been received, the canon of the Church would not have suffered any great loss. These questions are thoroughly examined by our author, and the evidences *pro* and *con* fairly presented; and while the author uniformly leans to the conservative side, he still leaves us to infer his own views, or else to inquire where he may stand. The work will prove useful to all our biblical students, and the most careful need have no fears in respect to any misleading tendencies.

Job and Solomon; or, The Wisdom of the Old Testament. By Rev. T. K. CHEYNE, A.M., D.D., Oriel Professor of Interpretation at Oxford. 8vo, pp. 309. New York: Thomas Whittaker.

The author of this work has heretofore become known, to all who keep themselves informed in current biblical literature, by his *Prophecies of*

Isaiah, the second edition of which was issued in this country by Mr. Whittaker in 1884, and noticed by us somewhat later. In that work the author clearly indicates his sympathy with the advanced school of Old Testament interpreters, although uniformly reverent in tone, and conservative of the spiritual and properly supernatural elements of the Bible. The poetical books treated of in the present volume afford him a theme especially suited to his genius and modes of thought and study. His position in respect to these books is that now very generally held by living biblical scholars; to wit, that there was a school of Hebrew literature extending from the age of Solomon to the Exile, which it also survived, to which all the specifically poetic parts of the Old Testament, except the oldest part of the Psalms, belong—the *Khokma* (wisdom) school of Hebrew poetry. He, of course, disallows any proper historical character to the narrative portion of the book of Job, viewing it as simply a semi-dramatic poem. Without attempting to determine its precise date he would assign it a place somewhere between the times of Solomon and the captivity, possibly not earlier than the post-exilian period. The Proverbs he considers to be a compilation of three parts, with two appendixes; the oldest the Solomonic, chapters x–xxiv, next the Hezekian, chapters xxv–xxix. Chapters i–ix he holds to be a later prefix, and chapters xxx and xxxi, independent additions. He admits both the canonicity and the inspiration of all these books, and he seems to include the "Wisdom of the Son of Sirach" among them, but just what he would include under these terms he does not clearly define. The book is learned, reverent, and easy to be understood; a pleasant one to read, and such as can scarcely fail to please and to command respect, even where it may not convince.

The Gospel According to St. Luke. With Introduction, Notes, and Maps. Chapters I–XII. By THOMAS M. LINDSAY, D.D., Professor of Divinity, etc., Free Church College, Glasgow. 12mo, pp. 171. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner & Welford.

This is part of the series of "Hand-books for Bible Classes and Private Students," consisting of commentaries, Church histories, doctrinal and practical treatises, making a pretty wide range of religious reading, written with marked ability, and put up in a form suited to the classes of readers indicated; the whole edited by Rev. Marcus Dod and Alexander Whyte. The book in hand is a pretty full commentary on the first twelve chapters of Luke, with a valuable "introduction" prefixed, a provision that ought to accompany every commentary, and which must be studied in order that the text may be properly understood. The compact form of the volume, secured by the use of small print and full pages, brings the twofold compensation of low price and portableness, while the fine print is not seriously objectionable with those for whom these books are specially intended. It is remarkable, and something to be regretted, that books of this kind are not more largely published and circulated in this country, for they are incomparably better than some that are issued from most of our religious publishing houses.

His Star in the East. A Study of the Early Aryan Religions. By LEIGHTON PARKS, Rector of Emmanuel Church, Boston. 12mo, pp. 292. New York and Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

The substance of this volume, we are told, was first given in the form of a course of lectures before the Lowell Institute, during the winter of 1885. Here, however, it appears in regular chapters, having been thoroughly recast and rewritten. The evident design seems to be to show Buddhism at its very best; and so, no doubt, it is made to appear somewhat better than its real best, apparently with the intent to point out its likeness in some of its features to Christianity, and also its contrasts, and to show its essential defectiveness as a religious system. The book is one that will certainly be read with pleasure by men of broad and generous views, who will be interested in its showing of the instinctive reaching out of men's souls after even the faintest traces of spiritual light, whether suggested by the intuitions or borne downward along the ages as survivals of the truths that were current in older and better times. No doubt Buddhism, while it is the most widely diffused of all the ethnic religions, is also the least grossly materialistic and anthropological. It is, however, essentially pessimistic, and seeks its highest good for its subjects in their nearest possible approach to the negation of personal being. As a system it is impotent to elevate either society or the individual, and its relation to the Gospel, wherever the two come into contact, is naturally and necessarily antagonistic.

The Bible-Work. The Old Testament, Vol. I, Genesis, chap. i, to Exodus, chap. xii. From the Creation to the Exodus. The Text arranged in Sections, with Comments selected from the Choicest, most Illuminating, and Healthful Thoughts of the Christian Centuries, taken from Four Hundred Scholarly Writers. Prepared by J. GLENTWORTH BUTLER, D.D. Imperial octavo, pp. 647. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

The author of this volume is already known to the public by the New Testament portion of the projected "Bible Work," of which this is the initial one for the Old Testament. Those who have become acquainted with these volumes will not need to be informed as to the character or method of the present one, for the same characteristics reappear, with very similar methods of exposition and elucidation. The work rendered by the author is, indeed, one of selecting and editing rather than of composition and authorship. The writer's position is that of evangelical orthodoxy, and the authors chiefly drawn upon by him are those who have been usually accepted as altogether conservative in their conceptions respecting the teachings of the Bible. Still the positions usually taken are abreast of the learning and thinking of the times, as entertained by the better class of non-rationalistic exegetes and theologians. The selections have been made with care, and the author's judgment in choosing those to be used out of the abundant materials in hand indicates both his wide reading and good practical common sense. For non-professional Bible-readers, who would understand what they read, this work will serve instead of many others, and prove equal to all their requirements.

PHILOSOPHY, METAPHYSICS, AND GENERAL SCIENCE.

Realistic Philosophy Defended in a Philosophic Series. By JAMES MCCOSH, D.D., LL.D., Litt. D., President of Princeton College. Two vols. 8vo, pp. 252, 325. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Introduction to Pyschological Theory. By BORDEN P. BOWNE, Professor of Philosophy in Boston University. 8vo, pp. 329. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Psychology. By JOHN DEWEY, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Philosophy in Michigan University. 8vo, pp. 427. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The studies which have been made in recent years of mental phenomena from the physiological side have added much to our knowledge on the subject. The character and functions of the nervous system have been looked into, and light has been cast upon its relations with sensation, thought, and emotion. Some success has been obtained in defining the precise regions of the brain that are in immediate relation with particular processes, and localization has been so far advanced that Professor Ferrier expresses a hope that we may soon have a "scientific phrenology." Writers on this line of investigation have sometimes assumed that the new system has put the old psychology out of the combat, and spoken of it as a thing of the past. Some of it has no doubt been corrected and modified. That happens to all knowledge. But the books before us furnish evidence that what is fundamental in the old, introspective psychology is still unshaken, and illustrate the pertinency of Prof. Bowne's remark, that its "physiological reconstruction has been postponed." Each of them demonstrates in its way that the science knows how to estimate the fruits of the new researches, and to select and assimilate those of them which are useful.

Dr. McCosh's "Series," while it betrays weakness at some points, is generally clear and useful. It premises that we need a distinctively American school of philosophy, and that it must be realistic; that is, that it shall regard the objects of its study as real, whether they be material entities, spiritual conceptions, mental faculties and powers, or abstract qualities. This comprehensive application of realism is explained and justified in the former part of the first volume. Next, the theory of causation is considered; the several kinds of causes are defined and their reality is shown, including among them final causes, or the purposes of things and processes. All causes and results are shown to be double, because two entities or agencies are concerned in the action or production of each. A chain of causes succeeding one another in a time no matter how long, with the accumulation of results, constitutes evolution, of the efficient operation of which, and its entire consistency with the intelligent foresight and superintending direction of the Deity, the author has no doubt.

The second volume is historical and critical. It summarizes and reviews the systems of the ancient and modern philosophers, closing with a fuller review of Herbert Spencer's philosophy. While the great value of this author's work is recognized, he is declared guilty of the fault of ap-

proaching the investigation of mental phenomena wholly from the outside, and failing to avail himself of the evidence which the mind itself affords by consciousness. His *Data of Ethics* is sharply criticised, and he and John Stuart Mill are declared, in their efforts to construct the universe without calling in God, an independent morality, or the immortality of the soul, to have "brought thinking to a very blank issue."

Professor Bowne's book—modestly declared to be only an introduction to psychological theory—aims less at a knowledge of facts than at an understanding of principles. Whatever may be the merits of physiological psychology, it must presuppose pure psychology, as the physiologists themselves are beginning to discern. The facts of psychology being chiefly revealed by consciousness, our method must be mainly introspective, and its results must be verified from our own experience. The subject of the mental life is self—mind, soul, or spirit—and is real and abiding. The attempts of materialists to do away with it, and reduce it to states of consciousness, are shown in a few clear words to be fallacious. Sensations depend upon physical conditions of nervous change, but are not explained by them. They are a mental reaction against nervous action, in which the nerves do not feel although they cause feeling; and the connection is inexplicable. These sensations may be reproduced in memory, or through association, by a purely mental process. Feelings—forms of consciousness, many of them originating in purely mental sources—are not susceptible of definition and cannot be deduced. Sensation, perception, reflection and action do not imply feeling, although they are all accompanied by it, not as an analytic implication, but rather as an incommensurable addition. The feelings, ascending to the æsthetic, moral, and religious sentiments, are the deepest things in us, furnishing the great impulses to action and outlining its direction, and are translated into volition and action. Consciousness is not a faculty in addition to other faculties, but a clear implication of the other faculties—an essential property of the mental processes. It is important to guard against the double error of trying to reduce these various faculties to some common form, as the sensationalists do, and the tendency to regard them as distinct entities.

> The transformations of sensationalism are purely verbal; and we have to assume a complex mental nature to account for the complex mental life. But we are not to suppose that this complex nature is made out of a bundle of independent faculties. The faculties are always and only abstractions from the many-sided mental life. This life is the reality.

The factors and processes of the mental life are afterward shown in combination, as in "perception," "the forms of reproduction," "the thought-process," and "interaction of soul and body;" and "sleep and abnormal mental phenomena" are considered. Professor Bowne has full command of his subject, and gives a clear, current account of mental phenomena, with satisfying exposures as he goes along of the fallaciousness of all extra-mental attempts to interpret or explain them.

Professor Dewey's work is intended for a text-book to be used in class

instruction. In determining whether he should take notice in it of philosophical principles, and thus admit matter of an historical character not strictly belonging to the subject, or, omitting such references, should confine himself to the facts of scientific psychology, the author found that the philosophic implications imbedded in the heart of psychology could not well be got rid of, and that the custom of the colleges to make this branch the path by which to enter the fields of philosophy forbade their being ignored. He has therefore written with reference to this point; and while avoiding, as far as was practicable, all material not really pertinent to the subject, aiming to reflect the investigations of scientific specialists, he has endeavored to arrange his treatise so as to lead to the problems that will be met in further studies, to suggest the principles along which they shall be solved, and to develop the scientific spirit. The principles and facts of mental phenomena are presented in the order usually observed, in compact sentences, which, while clearly expressed, suggest and stimulate thought rather than lead it on. The results of the latest studies, physiological and other, are recognized and given their due place. Copious bibliographical references to the works of authors who have treated of the particular subject, appended to every chapter, greatly increase the value of the book. W. H. L.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

Waste-Land Wanderings. By CHARLES C. ABBOTT, M.D., Author of *Upland and Meadow*, etc. 12mo, pp. 312. New York: Harper & Brothers.

In the domain of Nature even more than in that of Art, only the "gifted ones" can see what would seem to be obvious and patent to all observers; a few such, however, there are, who find a real and congenial companionship in "all out-doors"—the every day affairs among which the multitude live and die and find no pleasure in them. A few of these have written down their observations, and so won for themselves reputations as authors, prominent among whom are the names of Thoreau and John Burroughs, and now, perhaps, Dr. Abbott must be admitted to the select fraternity. Thoreau, the hermit of the Merrimac, saw chiefly the "spiritual" side of nature, and seemed always to be conversing with the unseen, the souls of inanimate or irrational things, their qualities and attributes, "which only gifted bards can see," so that to him human companionship was an intrusion. John Burroughs, who lives among the hills of the Hudson, is more superficial and vastly more companionable; has more of the artist than of the metaphysician, and so the more readily leads others to see what he sees and to participate in his abundant joyousness. Dr. Abbott, who delights to roam along the Delaware, is the quiet observer of whatever nature offers in her humdrum aspects—the flora and fauna of the fields and meadows, the copses and woodsides, and especially the creeks and lakelets, of an agricultural neighborhood. He has not much

of the aspect of either the philosopher or the poet; but he shows a wide acquaintance with out-door life, and a keen eye for the changes of the sky and of the seasons. He knows all the birds and the mammals of our fields and woods, and the fishes in the brooks, and seems never weary in telling of their habits, with illustrative incidents and anecdotes. To one who has come to see with his eyes and to share his tastes, and who has learned his language, which is not difficult, his books are pleasant companions for leisure hours.

Henry Ward Beecher. A Sketch of his Career, with Analyses of his Power as a Preacher, Lecturer, Orator and Journalist, and Incidents and Reminiscences of his Life. By LYMAN ABBOTT, D.D., assisted by Rev. S. B. HALLIDAY. Characterizations and Personal Reminiscences contributed by Thirty-nine Eminent Writers. Also, Mr. Beecher's Life as Sketched by Himself Shortly before his Death. 8vo, pp. 670. Hartford, Conn.: American Publishing Co. Twenty full-page Illustrations.

That a person who had filled so large a place in the public mind as had Mr. Beecher should become at once on his demise the subject for a life sketch was only what might have been expected; though that so complete a work as this should be published so soon after his death is remarkable, and the fact shows that its preparation must have antedated his death. As should be the case, with what must be little more than an enlarged funeral tribute, the work has been performed by long-time friends and admirers, who are able and practiced book-makers, and of course the work is entirely eulogistical. And for eulogy the material at hand was abundant and of a high grade of excellence. To the admirers of the great preacher this work cannot fail to be a most acceptable gift; and that larger public which has marked that wonderful career will not fail to appreciate what is here shown of the bright side of one who has had few equals in modern times. The time for writing his biography, and fixing his place in the history of his times, has not come, nor will that task devolve upon any of his contemporaries. The marvel is that so excellent a piece of mechanical work could have been done so speedily, for it is really a fine book.

Charles Reade, D.C.L. Dramatist, Novelist, Journalist. A Memoir compiled chiefly from his Literary Remains. By CHARLES L. READE and the Rev. COMPTON READE. 12mo, pp. 448. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Charles Reade was unique in character and career, and it is well that a sketch of him should be prepared for the public by kind and appreciative hands. This has been done in a most satisfactory manner. The book will be read with genuine pleasure by especially the admirers of the departed *litterateur*, and generally by all who appreciate real and hearty excellence.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Poetic and Dramatic Works of Robert Browning. In Six Volumes, Crown 8vo. Riverside Edition. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

Vol. I. Pauline, Paracelsus, Strafford, Sordello, Pippa Passes, King Victor and King Charles. Pp. 412.

Vol. II. Dramatic Lyrics, The Return of the Druses, A Blot in the 'Scutcheon, Colombe's Birthday, Dramatic Romances, A Soul's Tragedy, Luria. Pp. 404.

We are not disposed at this time to write a critique on Browning's Poems. It is not the time for such an attempt, nor would our space allow us to enter intelligently and at length into such a performance. Just now there appears to be a revival of Browningism, which will no doubt be promoted by this complete edition in uniform and elegant volumes. In their announcement the publishers say:

> This edition will form six crown 8vo. volumes. It will be carefully printed from long primer type, upon a high grade of book paper, and bound in neat library style with gilt tops. The first volume contains a fine steel portrait, and the sixth will have indexes of the contents and of the first lines of the poems in all the volumes. The price is $1.75 a volume in cloth, and $3.00 a volume in a handsome style of half-calf binding.

There is something significant in the fact, though apparently without special design, that those who shall use these volumes are designated "students of Browning," and not, as in other cases, simply *readers*, for surely only pretty diligent students will be able to appreciate his writings.

Pulpit Trees and Homiletical Undergrowth. Being Discourses, Sermonic Saplings, and Germs. By Rev. THOMAS KELLEY, Philadelphia. 12mo, pp. 336. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

Sermonic literature is usually reckoned among the cheapest, both on account of its abundance and of the amount of thought expressed within a given space; but in the case of printed sermons no one is compelled to read them, and therefore none need complain. Of late it has become the fashion to strive for a hearing or reading by strokes of smartness, if not in the sermon itself, at least in its title or ostensible subject; so in this case very good and wholesome religious teaching is introduced by quaint and striking figures and names.

Creed and Character. Sermons. By the Rev. S. H. HOLLAND, M.A., Canon of St. Paul's. 12mo, pp. 343. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Learned, thoughtful, devout, are the terms that best characterize these sermons; for secondary qualities may be named, conservatism, moderation, churchliness. They abound in an abiding protest against the fashionable folly, not to call it by a worse name, of distinguishing doctrinal beliefs from spiritual religion, and bending the latter at the expense of the former. But like many of his class, the author appears to be incapable of thinking of religion in any form or degree except as it is manifested through the Church, which is assumed to be the outward ecclesiastical organism of which he is a member.

Representative English Prose and Prose Writers. By THEODORE W. HUNT, Ph.D., Author of *Principles of Written Discourse.* 12mo, pp. 527. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son.

Ever since the elder D'Israeli published his *Curiosities* and his *Amenities of English Literature*, other books on the same general subject, if executed with a fair degree of ability, have been acceptable to readers of the English language. Such a book as that named above is therefore assured in advance of a favorable reception, and in this case the same feeling will be rendered perpetual. The author, heretofore favorably known by his former production in another department of the same general line of thought and study, evidently came to the work of producing this volume with a hearty liking for the work. He presents first the "Representative Historical Periods" of the production of English prose literature. Next a discussion and classification of "Representative Literary Forms," and last, an estimate of certain "Representative Prose Writers and Their Styles." The manner and style of the work are fairly good, the views expressed are neither extreme nor commonplace, and the criticisms and suggestions are instructive and wholesome, altogether making a pleasant companion for the leisure hour.

Dr. Channing's Note-Book. Passages from the Unpublished Manuscripts of William Ellery Channing. Selected by his Granddaughter, GRACE ELLERY CHANNING. 16mo, pp. 110. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

A great damage is sometimes done to a fine reputation by having one's posthumous papers given to the public through filial partiality; but Dr. Channing was less liable to such loss than most men. We have here a book full of short remarks, from a single line to half a page in length, sometimes sparkling, and sometimes simply plain matters of fact, but always wise and wholesome.

The New Psychic Studies in their Relation to Christian Thought. By FRANKLIN JOHNSON, D.D. 18mo, pp. 91. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

We freely confess our inability to deal intelligently with these "psychic" wonders. Perhaps there is a real basis of truth under them. It is, however, certain that, whatever of truth there may be in them, there is very much of folly and falsehood in their manifestation.

The City Youth. By J. THAIN DAVIDSON, Author of *Talks with Young Men*, etc. 12mo, pp. 291. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son.

A subject at once of the highest importance and requiring the greatest delicacy of handling, ably and successfully treated. Let young men, every-where, read it.

James Hannington, D.D., First Bishop of Eastern Equatorial Africa. A History of his Life and Work, 1847–1885. By E. C. DAWSON, M.A., Oxon. First American from the Sixth London Edition. 12mo, pp. 471. New York: Anson D. F. Randolph & Co.

A full and appreciative sketch of the latest martyr for Christ in Africa, with a circumstantial account of the massacre of the Christians.

The Russian Church and Russian Dissent. Comprising Orthodoxy, Dissent, and Erratic Sects. By ALBERT F. HEARD, formerly Consul-General for Russia at Shanghai. 12mo, pp. 310. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The history of Russia, both political and ecclesiastical, is still unwritten, though some creditable essays in that direction have been made during the not remote past—and in that company the book now in hand deserves an honorable place. The story of the introduction of Christianity among the tribes of the steppes forms an interesting passage in church history, but, by reason of the strange and multiplied division of indigenous sects, the real religious history of the people is an almost interminable maze. The National Church is nominally and by descent a part of the Eastern or Greek, as distinguished from the Western or Latin, Church, which two for many centuries comprised the whole of Christendom; but the Russian Church is, as to its polity, strictly national, and indeed a part of the imperial government, with the Czar for its head and ruler. The great mass of the people are nominally of that Church, and yet the dissenting sects are numerous, and some of them are not only tolerated, but endowed with large political and ecclesiastical privileges. The book under notice attempts simply to restate the chief points of that history without partiality and in plain and concise terms.

Was he Wise? By J. K. LUDLUM, Author of *Dr. Harry*, etc. 12mo, pp. 306.

Who was He? Six Short Stories about Some of the Mysterious Characters and Well-kept Secrets of Modern Times. By HENRY FREDERIC REDDALL, Author of *From the Golden Gate to the Golden Horn*, etc. 12mo, pp. 300.

Five-Minute Sermons to Children. By Rev. WILLIAM ARMSTRONG. 12mo, pp. 203.

Some Aspects of the Blessed Life. By MARK GUY PEARSE, Author of *Thoughts on Holiness*. 12mo, pp. 222.

The Sunday-school department of the Methodist Book Concern continues its emissions—sometimes good, and sometimes not so good. Of the above list the *first* is a story—a novel of no special worth. The *second* is a book of very considerable interest—"six short stories," each telling of an unsolved mystery respecting a real or supposititious character. They are, 1) "The Lost Heir of the Bourbons" (Louis XVII. of France. 2) "The Unknown of the Bastile" (Man in the Iron Mask). 3) "Some Strange Stories" (chiefly of English and Irish affairs). 4) "The Foundling of Nuremberg" (Kaspar Hauser). 5) "The Wandering Jew." 6) "Junius." Happily selected and fairly well treated. The *third* is made up of a hundred very brief pieces, short and crisp, and on the whole very good. The style "sermons" is not justified, except that a text of Scripture stands at the head of each. The *fourth* is by the author of "Daniel Quorm," on a much-written-about subject, bringing almost nothing new.

The People's Bible. Discourses upon Holy Scripture. By JOSEPH PARKER, D.D., Minister of the City Temple, Author of the *Inner Life of Christ*, etc. Vol. V. 12mo, pp. 360. Joshua and Judges.

The qualities for which we have commended former volumes of this work appear also in this, without any abatement of excellence.

A Tramp Trip; or, How to See Europe on Fifty Cents a Day. By LEE MERRIWEATHER. 12mo, pp. 276. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The feat named in this title is no doubt within the range of possibility; perhaps some might find it a pleasure trip, but not every one. The sketches are lively, and the descriptions full of valuable information, all the more so because they often relate to matters which would escape the observation of more expensive tourists.

Current Discussions in Theology. By the Professors of Chicago Theological Seminary. Vol. IV. 12mo, pp. 336. Chicago & New York: Fleming H. Revell.

This fourth annual report of the course of theological thought and discussion for the year last preceding the date of each volume very fully sustains the high standard reached by its predecessors. The joint authors and editors of the work are rendering a valuable service to others as well as honor to themselves.

The Merry Men, and Other Tales and Fables. By ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON. 16mo, pp. 308. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

The saying that "much of a story is in the telling" is very happily illustrated in this collection. The "Tales and Fables" are intrinsically of small account, but they are so written that they allure the reader to pursue them simply for the pleasure they afford.

In the Wrong Paradise, and Other Stories. By ANDREW LANG, Author of *Custom and Myth,* etc. 18mo, pp. 255. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Mr. Lang is good at stories. Here we have nine, of which that named in the title is only a fair average. They are wild enough, sometimes a little weird, and never have any more serious purpose than to amuse.

Pleading for Prayer, and Other Sermons. Preached in 1886. By C. H. SPURGEON, of London. 12mo, pp. 384. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers.

Like every thing from the same abundant source, these eighteen sermons are sound in respect to fundamental Christian doctrine, and marvelously fervent in spirit and direct in their aim.

Bible Knights. McKendree Class-Meeting Talks, O. P. FITZGERALD, Leader. 18mo, pp. 168. Nashville, Tenn.: Southern Methodist Publishing House.

In the form of class-meeting conversations the author of this little volume brings together a collection of religious thoughts, brief and pointed, and sometimes pungent and expressive, which will not fail to profit those who read them with a spirit to be profited.

Random Recollections. By HENRY B. STANTON. 12mo, pp. 298. New York: Harper & Brothers.

In this volume Mr. Stanton tells of what he saw, and in much of which he was an actor, of the politics of the nation in general, and of the State of New York in particular, for about sixty years, coming down to the present time. The story is full of life, and will be read with interest by all who may be interested in such matters.

The Beautiful City in Song, and Other Poems. By Rev. DWIGHT WILLIAMS. 16mo, pp. 144. New York: Phillips & Hunt.

If, as it has been said, the present time is the "twilight of poetry," in that fact may be found an explanation of the further fact that the age is so prolific of second class poets, stars of various magnitudes, which the absence of any great sun allows to become visible. In the galaxy so revealed the collection in hand, by one hitherto not unknown among the devotees of the Christian muse, will rank well up in the scale of excellence, in respect to both poetic fire and in correctness and felicity of versification. The spirit and lessons of the poems are intensely religious, scriptural in respect to the matter, and comparatively free from the extreme sensuousness that often deform productions of that class. Some of these pieces are of a decidedly elevated character, altogether worthy to rank with others that, first becoming famous through the name of their authors, have through their own merit maintained their places in the hymnic anthology. The book will prove a friendly companion to the appreciative spirit in the quiet hour.

Elijah Vindicated; or, the Answer by Fire. By Rev. J. O. A. CLARK, D.D., LL.D., Author of *The Wesley Memorial Volume*, etc. 12mo., pp. 399. Nashville, Tenn.: Southern Methodist Publishing House.

King George's criticism on Watson's *Apology for the Bible*, that it needed no apology, might apply by adaptation to this volume, for many will feel that least of all men does the good name of the Tishbite prophet need to be vindicated. But the author has made an instructive and readable book.

New Science of Elocution. The Elements and Principles of Vocal Expression, in Lessons, with Exercises and Selections Systematically arranged for Acquiring the Art of Reading and Speaking. By S. S. HAMILL, A.M., Chicago, Ill., Late Professor of Rhetoric, English Literature, and Elocution, Illinois Wesleyan University, Bloomington, Ill.; State University, Columbia, Mo. 12mo, pp. 382. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe.

Adapted for practical teaching. The rules are briefly stated and then illustrated by examples, to use which to advantage would require the aid of the teacher.

Epochs of Modern History. The Early Tudors. Henry VII. and Henry VIII. By Rev. C. E. MOBERLY, M.A., Late a Master in Rugby School. With Maps and Plans. 18mo, pp. 249. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

We have expressed our appreciation of this series, in respect to both the plan and the execution, in noticing former issues. The present volume is worthy of the place to which it is assigned.

A Manual of Christian Evidences. By Rev. C. A. ROW, A.M., Prebendary of St. Paul's Cathedral (London). 16mo, pp. 206. New York: Thomas Whittaker.

Two departments of "the Evidences" are here briefly considered, the "Moral," those which appeal to the moral sense, and the "Miraculous," which appeal to men's intellects, and are designed to serve as credentials to the teacher rather than demonstrations of the truths taught.

Laws and Forms Relating to Churches and Other Religious Societies: Being the Laws of the several States and Territories concerning such Organizations: together with Forms in harmony with such Laws. With an Introduction treating of the American Social Structure, Civil and Religious: showing the Position of Christianity and the Relations of Civil and Ecclesiastical Society in the United States. By ALPHA J. KYNETT, D.D., LL.D., assisted by WILLIAM W. COTTON, Esq., a member of the New York Bar. 8vo (law binding), pp. 598. New York: Printed for the Author by Phillips & Hunt.

A comprehensive digest of American Church Law, with notices of the minor provisions in all of the States and Territories. A very desirable book for all who may be charged with the temporal affairs of churches.

Sabina Zembra. A Novel. By WILLIAM BLACK, author of *White Heather*, etc. 12mo, pp. 442. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Since the great novelists of the recent past vacated their leadership in fictitious literature, William Black has been very nearly the head of the list of living novelists. But like all second-class matters, his works suffer by comparison. His last work will probably neither enhance nor depreciate his reputation.

Episodes in a Life of Adventure; or, Moss from a Rolling Stone. By LAWRENCE OLIPHANT, Author of *Piccadilly*, etc. 12mo, pp. 343. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Mr. Oliphant is a good observer and an apt delineator of his observations, and here he has brought together a variety of the fruits of his wanderings, and has arranged them in successfully detailed narrative.

From Death to Life; or, Fragments of Teaching to a Village Congregation, with Letters on the Life after Death. By CHARLES KINGSLEY, Rector of Eversley. 16mo, pp. 111. London and New York: Macmillan & Co.

In the author's best vein.

HARPER & BROTHER'S MINOR NOVELS.

King Solomon's Mines. A Novel. By H. RIDER HAGGARD, author of *She*, etc. 16mo, pp. 274. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The Woodlanders. A Novel. By THOMAS HARDY, author of *A Laodicean.* 16mo, pp. 364.

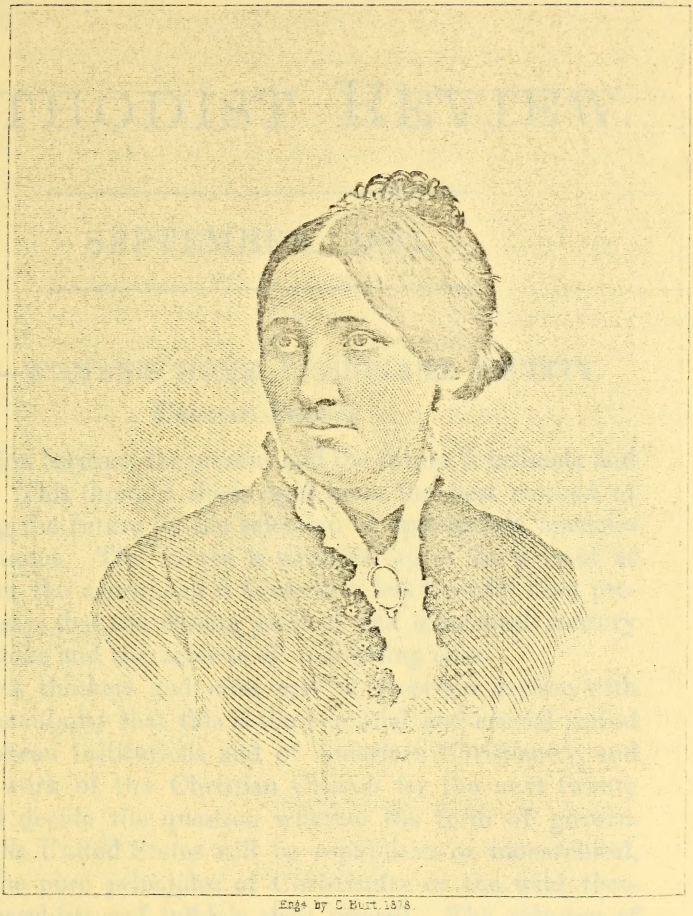
Springhaven. A Tale of the Great War. By R. D. BLACKMORE, author of *Lorna Doone.* Illustrated by Alfred Parsons and F. Barnard. 12mo, pp. 512.

Baldine, and Other Tales. By KARL ERDMANN EDLER. Translated from the German, by the Earl of Lytton. 16mo. pp. 302.

Dawn. By H. RIDER HAGGARD. 16mo, pp. 367.

She. A History of Adventure. By H. RIDER HAGGARD, 16mo, pp. 316.

The Flamingo Feather. By KIRK MUNROE, author of *Wakulla*, etc. 16mo, pp. 355.



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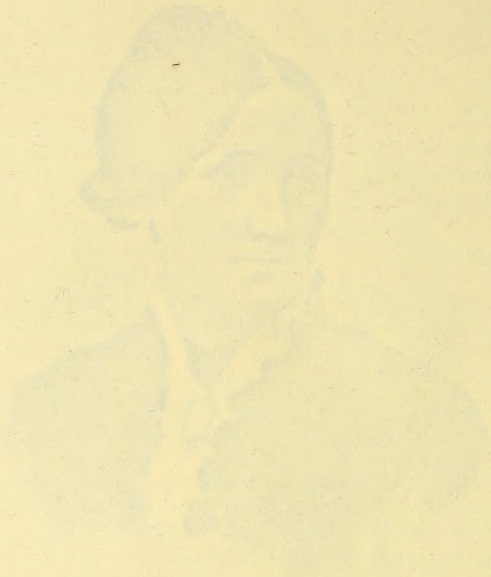

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METHODIST REVIEW.

SEPTEMBER, 1887.

ART. I.—WOMAN'S HOME MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

CRUCIAL PERIOD.

THE relation between the present and the future is intimate and effective. This thought sheds light upon the best method of controlling the future by the selection of appropriate agencies in the present. The future is wrapped up in the present as the oak in the acorn, and it is scarcely less truthful than prophetic to say, that the closing years of the nineteenth century will give tone and character to all succeeding ones.

Our best thinkers and most careful observers declare with singular unanimity that this is the potential and crucial period of Republican institutions and of American Christianity, and that the work of the Christian Church for the next twenty years will decide the question whether the form of government of the United States will be republican or monarchical, whether the pure principles of Christianity or the wild theories of anarchists and infidels shall prevail. The solution of this problem here will aid in its permanent settlement everywhere.

We are living in the most wonderful age of the world's history. No Christian nation has shared so largely as we in the bounty of God. All providences tell us plainly that we are called to lead on in the work of the eventide of the world. The perils which beset us, the mad cry of men who clamor for a brotherhood without Christ, and the boast of infidels who would dethrone our God, warn, as in thunder, of the battle. No nation has survived the loss of its religion.*

* Bishop Whipple.

If the hosts of light and darkness are to be marshaled for conflict in this country, and the great battle for the triumph of the Church is to be fought here within the next quarter of a century, every possible effort should now be put forth to reach the multitudes that flock to our shores, and the neglected native populations of our own country, to teach them the value of Christian civilization, and to prepare them to become its earnest participants and zealous supporters.

The importance of a wide-spread movement to meet this crisis is indicated by the ominously rapid increase of our country's citizenship, and the fearful illiteracy and degradation in which so many are involved. The population of many foreign nations is comparatively stationary while ours is rapidly increasing—doubling every twenty-five years; so that, at this rate, in less than a hundred years hence we may number eight hundred millions, more than one hundred millions of whom will be colored.

Whether this nation, richly freighted with the hopes of countless millions, shall be preserved, and shall continue to be a beacon-light to other lands, is a question that lies near the heart of intelligent Christian women, not only because their own elevation and happiness are closely connected with every movement for the evangelization of the world, but also and especially because every impulse of their nature is in the fullest sympathy with such a result.

Changed Conditions.

The obligation of the Church in any period is determined by the conditions of the country and its inhabitants. A few years ago the South, with its peculiar institution, was closed against us. There was no welcome for free thought, free schools, a free press, nor a free Gospel. West of the Mississippi was an almost unexplored region. Immigration had not become so important a factor in our civilization. We had few great cities, and the prosperous states north of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi River did not present a mission field of so much promise, nor of so great exigency, as it has since become.

Within a brief period the circumstances of the country have undergone marvelous changes, vitally affecting the obligations

of the Church. The South has been unsealed, the West has become more accessible to settlers, and a mingled current of humanity is pouring into these vast territories from all the nations of the earth. Within a half century less than one twelfth of our population was in cities; now, more than one fourth of it jostles and surges within city limits, and the upheavals of the volcano shake the foundations of the empire. Such a population presents a mission field of vast importance, demanding careful and early culture.

Formerly, communism, socialism, and nihilism were unheard of in our country. Now, hundreds of thousands of laborers, from the skilled artisan to the humble delver in the mines, are held in the sway of powerful organizations, ready to be hurled at any moment upon the community with most terrific results. Now, anarchists armed with dynamite prosecute their bloody work in our cities under the shadow of the courts of justice. Then, the thought and culture of the East and the principles of Puritan teaching were dominant in literature and in the prevalent theories of government, social and political. Now, in many parts of New England the population has already commenced a retrograde movement. The influx of foreigners, and the emigration of native-born citizens westward, make it difficult to maintain the Church in places long favored with religious privileges, while her cities are rapidly coming under the sway of infidel thought and Romish domination. In several of our territories the population more than doubles in a decade, while in them the principles of free institutions and of our holy religion are scarcely recognized by the multitudes there struggling to obtain a livelihood and amass wealth. The scepter of power is passing into the hands of sections where illiteracy and vice prevail. In many places Mormonism, Socialism, or Romanism dictates the schemes of government.

Hence it will be seen that the missionary work of our Church has heretofore been maintained under circumstances widely different from the present. Our Home Missionary field, from social and political changes, has become greatly enlarged, and has developed increased proportions of ignorance and danger not hitherto fully realized by the Church or the nation.

An Element of Strength.

If the Church in America is to be a power for the evangelization of the world, its latent energies must be developed, and its forces properly conserved. It is an encouraging fact that the value of organized efforts of women in Christian and philanthropic work is becoming more fully appreciated. Women constitute two thirds of the Church membership, and are, therefore, numerically, an element of strength; yet the additional number of workers that they furnish for the field is not the most important advantage. The great advantage is, that they bring an entirely new influence into the world of effort; a quiet, unseen, and pervading influence, the result of combined patience and strength, more potent even than what is gained by mere numbers and display.

Emerson says: "Civilization is simply the influence of good women." Righteous principles and pure motives of action planted in human hearts grow in power and give rise to moral reforms. The homes of the people are the real centers of the influences determinative of the character of the people. Woman's appropriate sphere of action is the home. As the spirit of practical philanthropy and religion thoroughly imbues the currents of her thought, she will be able more effectually to purify the sources of power, and to send forth vitalizing influences that will reach, with elevating effect, all classes and conditions of society.

To meet successfully the momentous moral questions involving the destiny of the nation, philanthropic measures should be so planned as to utilize this hitherto latent force of Christian women. The value of woman's influence is in proportion as she labors in harmony with the laws of her being. Hence, to secure the best results of her labor, the plans of organization must be such as will enable her to enter the fields of effort in ways consistent with, and congenial to, her womanly nature and endowments.

The employment of women in mission work is one of the most hopeful indications of the speedy triumph of the Church of Christ. Since there is nothing in her recognized sphere of action nor in the delicacy of her nature to prevent, she may be welcomed to association in thought and effort with the other

sex in the removal of human suffering, and in the introduction of a higher civilization. In the countries where the aid of women in benevolent work is rejected progress is well-nigh paralyzed; but in those where her intelligent co-operation furnishes the incentive to noble achievement, wonderful advancement has been made in every department of Christian effort.

Organization Demanded.

When it became apparent to those laboring to establish Christian institutions in heathen lands that their work could not be fully successful without the aid of women, the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society was called into existence, and this action has secured the happiest results. When the call for aid was made, consecrated women promptly responded. They organized societies, disseminated missionary information, raised funds, and sent forth their best workers into distant lands to rescue their sisters from the evils of heathenism. The Woman's Foreign Missionary Society has become one of our most successful organizations. It has aided in awakening new interest in the world's conversion, and in bringing about a great missionary quickening; also in kindling and diffusing a new and thrilling sympathy in Christian missions throughout our denomination.

When attention was called to the neglected condition of the population of our own country—when it was seen how great a work each of our Church societies had in hand, and how difficult it would be for any one of them to assume additional labors and responsibilities—when it was remembered how important a work had been accomplished by the women of our Church in the foreign field, and when it was seen how much had been accomplished by the women of other denominations in the home field—it was felt to be a duty, from which it was not possible to escape, to organize a society of ladies connected with the Methodist Episcopal Church in behalf of the needy population of our own country. The Woman's Home Missionary Society represents mission work by women in behalf of our own land, similar to that undertaken by our sisters in foreign lands; and there surely is not the slightest ground nor warrant for anything but the kindest emulation between them.

This society, in its organization and history, and in the efforts of its friends to secure recognition and awaken increased interest in its special field, has called the attention of our Church to the neglected portions of our country; to the dangers which threaten it; to its great responsibilities, and to its controlling influence upon other lands. These efforts have deepened the sense of responsibility and obligation of our people on the subject of missions, and have contributed to increase the tide of religious effort in behalf of home mission work, which gives fresh heart and hope to every lover of his country.

Both societies, organized and conducted by women, one for the foreign and the other for the home field, were intended to cooperate with and supplement the work of the General Missionary Society, managed by men. Women could enter fields of usefulness, both in this and other lands, which were closed to the other sex, and this fact was influential in securing the organization of societies among the women.

If the responsibility of sustaining any missionary field should be intrusted to the women—if they should be allowed to select the field, plan the work, and commission the missionaries—there need be no solicitude felt for the result; for they would most certainly raise the funds and sustain the mission.

The ladies of the Foreign Missionary Society chose to aid the General Society in its work abroad. The ladies of the Home Missionary Society took that part of the territory omitted by the ladies of the Foreign, and to the extent of their ability are endeavoring to cultivate it for the Lord.

There is a clearly defined field of labor for these organizations, and each may move in its own sphere without collision, each shedding light and love upon the other.

The Woman's Foreign Missionary Society aids the Parent Society in distant lands. The Woman's Home Missionary Society aids the Parent Society at home. The General Missionary Society, like a wise and loving parent, cherishes and encourages both organizations. All are animated by the same spirit, guided by the same wisdom, and upheld by the same almighty Power.

Bishop Wiley early recognized the importance of providing for the organized efforts of women in Christian and philanthropic work. He said:

We have entered upon a day when it seems as though a new revelation has dawned upon the women of Christendom, in opening to them the great domain of making the world better and happier.

Of the earlier movement he said:

I felt that the time had fully come, in the existence of our missions in foreign countries, when the women of the Church might take an efficient personal part in the great missionary work, by directing their efforts to the needs of women in the fields where the Church was working.

After the organization of the Woman's Home Missionary Society, in a letter to the writer he said:

Women must work for women in the mission fields of our country as well as for the women of foreign lands. God's providence brought into life the former organization in due time; in the same timely way, God is bringing your organization into the great field. To my mind, the work of Christian women for their needy sisters in their own country is now as indispensable as for the foreign.

The author of these cheering sentences has finished his work on earth and has gone home to his reward in heaven. To him more than to any other should be attributed the honor of originating, and, in its early history guiding, the Society. He was its true friend and wise counselor. He advocated its claims with great ability and eloquence. Having been a missionary in foreign lands, and understanding the need and urgency of mission work there, he became an earnest advocate of the movement in its behalf. Episcopal supervision brought him into close relation with our Western mission. As President of the Freedmen's Aid Society, he had a clear understanding of the Southern field, which personal supervision of the work only could secure. He became so thoroughly aroused to the dangers that threatened our own country, and the necessity of securing the co-operation of women in order to avert them, that several years before the society was inaugurated he urged an organization of women for home work.

Co-operation with Existing Societies.

A separate organization was not at first contemplated. Various attempts were made to enlist the women of Methodism in behalf of the home field through organizations already in existence.

During the meeting of the Executive Committee of the

Woman's Foreign Missionary Society at Chicago, in 1872, some of its members called attention to the importance of work among the freedwomen. At the meeting in Cincinnati, in 1873, Rev. R. S. Rust was introduced, and he urged the propriety of dropping the word "foreign" from the name of the Society, and making it the Woman's Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church; its field to be the same for women as that of the Parent Missionary Society, including work in our own and foreign lands. A similar appeal was made in New England by Bishop Wiley; and in 1875, at Baltimore, at an Executive Committee meeting of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society, the subject of the Southern work was discussed with much interest, and the notice of a constitutional amendment was given which would leave the society free to take up the home work. The following year, however, the plan of amendment of the constitution was laid aside as unadvisable. One reason, among others given for this action, was the important obligations already assumed by the society in behalf of foreign work.

Action was taken at a meeting called by the members of that Board, which we find recorded in the minutes of the Freedmen's Aid Society, as follows:

July 18, 1876, Mrs. Bishop Clark, Mrs. William B. Davis, and Mrs. R. S. Rust met the Committee, and presented the following communication from a meeting of ladies in behalf of freedwomen:

"Baltimore, Md., May 12, 1875, upon invitation of Mrs. Bishop Clark, the ladies in attendance upon the General Executive Committee of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society met to consider the claims of the freedwomen of our country. Mrs. Bishop Clark was called to the chair, Mrs. J. F. Willing was elected Secretary. Mrs. W. A. Ingham presented the matter of memorializing the Freedmen's Aid Society, asking that its influence be used at the next General Conference to secure the election of ladies as members of its Board of Managers, and the employment of ladies in collecting its funds. After earnest and enthusiastic discussion, Mrs. Ingham, Mrs. Lathrop and Mrs. Willing were appointed a Committee to present the matter in due form."

May 13, 1875, this Committee reports as follows:

Whereas: Our Bishops and the Corresponding Secretary of the Freedmen's Aid Society have pressed upon our attention the

necessity of prompt and efficient effort to advance the intellectual, and especially the spiritual, culture of the freedwomen, and we recognize the fact that a solemn duty rests upon us to help those who, though neglected and degraded, are the mothers and teachers of millions who will become citizens of the Republic; and *whereas*, we are awake to the fact that the Roman Catholic Church has laid her hand of power upon these freed people, giving them beautiful churches, directing their worship, and educating their children, thus taking them hopelessly away from the influence of Protestant and American thought, and adding their votes to her already formidable political enginery; and *whereas*, we believe that if women were more largely responsible for work among the freedmen they would not only specially interest in it the women of the Church, but they would help establish direct communication between teachers in the field and Churches supporting them, and so give permanency to this interest: therefore, *Resolved*, That we respectfully memorialize the Board of Managers of the Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, asking that they use their influence with the General Conference at its next session to secure the election to said Board of Managers of one woman from each mission district of the Church.

It was *resolved* by the Executive Committee of the Freedmen's Aid Society to extend to the ladies a cordial welcome to participate with the society in its vigorous prosecution of the work. It was also *resolved*, that Bishop Wiley, R. S. Rust, D.D., M. B. Hagans, and J. M. Walden, D.D., be appointed to confer with the ladies on the subject, and devise some plan of action by which the women of our Church may participate more fully and take a more responsible part in elevating the emancipated and degraded people of the South.

Cincinnati, October 13, 1876, the above committee reported as follows:

Your Committee see no obstacle in the way of introducing women into the Board of Managers of the Freedmen's Aid Society as advisers. By the act of incorporation, males only are eligible to the Board, and entitled to vote, and are made responsible for the management of the affairs of the Society; but it is very desirable that the women of the Church should participate in our councils, and we unanimously recommend that they be cordially admitted to participate in all our meetings as advisers and counselors, and that the petition of the women put on record July 18, 1876, be granted.

Acting under the direction of the above committee, a circular letter was sent by the author of this article to one hundred

and fifty ladies prominently connected with the work of the Church, urging the claims of the home field, asking suggestions, and, if organization was deemed advisable, the form that the movement should assume. Invitations were sent to these ladies and to others to meet in Cincinnati the first week in December, 1876, for consultation and action. Several responded, and a resolution was adopted recommending a Woman's Department auxiliary to the Freedmen's Aid Society, under the direction of a lady as assistant corresponding secretary.

This was discussed at a joint meeting of ladies and the Board of Managers of the Freedmen's Aid Society, called December 7, and was referred to a special committee, which reported January 20, 1877, as follows:

> In view of the fact that the introduction of females into the Board of Managers, by the laws of the State of Ohio, under which the Society holds its charter, would endanger its title to property, it is not practicable to elect a lady as assistant corresponding secretary; and we tender the appointment of agent of the Freedmen's Aid Society to Mrs. Jennie F. Willing, to be employed by, and under the direction of, the corresponding secretary, in publicly presenting the cause, collecting funds, and organizing auxiliary societies.

Provision was made for the salary and traveling expenses of the agent, and a committee of twelve ladies was nominated to represent the claims of the cause through the Church papers.

As women could not be recognized in the Board of Managers of the Society, Mrs. Willing declined to accept the position, and the plan was not carried out.

Preliminary Movements.

Failing in the efforts to secure the needed work through already existing agencies, the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society or an auxiliary to the Freedmen's Aid Society, those whose sympathies had been enlisted continued to urge the work through the press, and by private appeals. Three years in succession the annual report of the Freedmen's Aid Society called attention to the importance of an effort in behalf of freedwomen.

During the winter of 1877 Mrs. Ryder, in response to the solicitation of Dr. and Mrs. Godman, was sent to New Orleans to labor as a missionary in connection with our Churches and the University.

In the annual report of the Freedmen's Aid Society of 1878 we find this paragraph:

To counteract the efforts of the Romanists, who are busily engaged in proselytizing the freedmen by the distribution of Romish pictures and images, we have been able through the influence of elect ladies to scatter through the South seventy-five thousand elevating and instructive pictures, to adorn their humble homes, educate the inmates in the truths of the Bible, and stimulate them to holy lives. Devoted Christian women have visited from house to house, tendering sympathy and advice to the families.

From the report of this Society for 1879 we take the following:

While slavery existed, and the communities were crowded together in the slave quarters, there could be no family order nor individual responsibility. Emancipation found them children in character. Ought we then to be surprised that the parents whose lives had vibrated between the field and the hut, who knew so little of the sacred bonds of marriage, should be unable to organize Christian homes, or train their children in the principles of morality of which they have no knowledge themselves? From these homes our schools are filled, and to them the pupils must return. In view of this fact it is evident that here in the South is opened to the women of America one of the greatest fields in the world for missionary work. To reach it seas need not be crossed nor languages learned, and the harvest can be reaped almost as soon as the seed is sown.

We quote also from the Society's report of 1880:

Woman's work in this mission field cannot be dispensed with. She alone can reach the homes of degraded females, and give the instruction, the advice, and the counsel so much needed to enable them to lead holy and pure lives. It is the freedwoman on whom the burden and the misery of this degradation falls with crushing weight. Woman's opportunity is now to enter these neglected homes and establish in them the principles of virtue, truth, and right living. We believe that God in his providence has laid this duty upon the women of the Church, to engage most earnestly in the important work of educating the freedmen preparatory to the redemption of Africa. An inscrutable Providence brought the Negroes here, and emancipated them; and now they must be prepared to enter the opening door to Africa, and take an active part in its evangelization. What work can be grander or more far-reaching in its influence? Clothe the millions of freedmen with the panoply of Christian civilization and they will be ready for an exodus that will have for its object the redemption of the more than two hundred millions of Africa.

In the same year's report we find the following account of an important enterprise that was inaugurated in New Orleans, and conducted by Mrs. J. C. Hartzell. Of her impressions of duty in regard to this work she writes from the North:

In the fall of 1878, while the mantle of death enshrouded our State, letters came saying, "Our colored sisters are praying for you, Sister Hartzell, that you may be able to bring back with you missionaries who will take their daughters and save them." In the midst of death these mothers dreamed of a life of purity for their daughters such as they had not known themselves, and they lifted up their hearts and voices for their salvation. Everywhere the people were giving of their time and money to relieve the sufferers from the fearful yellow fever scourge, and when in the midst of it there came this appeal from mothers for help to save the souls of their daughters, there suddenly came to my heart the feeling: Dare not refuse to be used in answering those mothers' prayers. And I said, Lord, do with me what seemeth good in thy sight.

In the fall of 1878 Mrs. Hartzell secured the interest of friends in the North and collected seven hundred dollars, with which four missionaries were sustained several months during the years 1879 and 1880. The ladies visited the people in their homes, held meetings for mothers and young women, in which they gave religious and moral instruction, suggestions and advice on matters relating to home life and personal habits and taste, taught plain sewing and useful housework, and urged attendance upon the schools and churches. This was gratefully welcomed and its continuance solicited by resolutions of the Louisiana Conference. This work was under the care of the Freedmen's Aid Society.

Mrs. Hartzell's report furnishes many touching incidents illustrative of this field. From this we take the following:

Mrs. Ryder found an old freedman in a cabin sitting in a corner, half asleep. She aroused him, and asked him if he had a Bible. He replied, "No, missus; got no Bible, and don't want none. I'se nearly done gone from dis world; got no money, and can't read none." Mrs. R. opened and read: "Let not your heart be troubled; ye believe in God, believe also in me. In my Father's house are many mansions, if it were not so I would have told you. And if I go and prepare a place for you, I will come again and receive you unto myself, that where I am there ye may be also." As she read he arose, and with trembling step walked to her side and, bowing his ear close to the book, said:

"What is dat you read?" She read it again. "Is dat in de Bible, honey?" "Yes," said the missionary, and then she explained the words to him. When she had finished he asked her to put his finger on the place and to mark it good, so he could find it again, and, with tearful eyes, he exclaimed, "O, honey, I must hab dat book."

When the trials of the hour compelled colored people by thousands to seek the shelter of Northern homes, the Lincoln Lyceum was organized in Cincinnati to aid and encourage those desiring to obtain an education and lead useful lives. The instruction was industrial and educational, and was continued through three years. Many distinguished names are among its lists of lecturers and teachers, and great good was accomplished by this effort. The report says:

It was aimed each evening to show how they could successfully pursue investigations in the various departments of science. They were encouraged to ask questions, advised what books to read, and lectures on familiar topics, illustrated with apparatus, were frequently delivered.

The absence of elevating influence among the colored people is one of the greatest difficulties that they have to overcome in their efforts to secure success in the new relations of life in which they are placed. They have been groping blindly in the dark in the pursuit of knowledge. They lack the experience, instruction, and example that will enable them to judge correctly at what to aim in education. The old habits of thought, and the embarrassments of previous conditions still operating in their homes, cannot easily be overcome. An incident from the report illustrates this:

An interesting youth about eighteen years of age came for advice. In common with so many of his race, he had the deepest reverence for books and learning. Toil had occupied his days. Scanty opportunity of night schools had enabled him to read. Said he: "I never lose a minute of evenings. I read all the time I can get in the library." What kind of books; what do you read about? Not comprehending the question, he answered, "O, books; I always read books; I read, and read, but I don't seem to get any learning; I don't get along." The discouraged look in the poor fellow's face touched us deeply. In his imagination, a book, any book, was the casket holding the coveted gem, and he wondered why, when he opened the treasure trove, the jewel did not shine upon his vision and illuminate his mind.

These appeals contributed to the formation of a wide-spread sentiment in the Church which led to the inauguration of our home mission work. The first contribution in this behalf was a five-dollar gold piece which Mrs. Haven, mother of Bishop Gilbert Haven, gave, saying, "It is for the work of freedwomen." Making this gift the opportunity, an appeal was inserted in the Church papers for money to sustain a missionary at Atlanta. Favorable responses were received, and in three weeks Miss Abbott, of Maine, entered upon the work, in which she continued for two years, our faith pledging the Church for her support. About the same time another missionary was sent to New Orleans. Later, Bishop Warren secured the means to sustain a lady at Atlanta, who labored among the poor white people of that city. Also Mrs. L. M. Dunton, through his instrumentality, made several missionary tours among the people in South Carolina. Afterward she and the writer visited many Conferences in the North, and set forth the objects and claims of the society. Mrs. Dunton's pathetic and eloquent word-pictures, and her faithful delineation of life in the South, awakened a deep interest, produced a profound impression, and exerted a strong influence in behalf of home missions.

The approval of these enterprises by the General Conference of 1880 encouraged the organization of the Woman's Home Missionary Society. In the General Conference report on this subject we find the following:

> The work among the freedwomen of the South has already borne precious fruit, and gives promise of adding much to the usefulness of the Society. The work contemplated is to send Christian women to the homes of the people, and, by good counsel, aid in the work of establishing Christian homes among them. Schools are to be organized for the girls and women in connection with our Churches and the institutions of the Society for primary and industrial education.

Much interest having been aroused in various sections of the country by the efforts above described, contributions of money and clothing began to flow into the treasury. To provide for the judicious appropriation of these donations, organization was demanded, and a meeting of ladies of Cincinnati and vicinity was called in Trinity Church, June 8, 1880, to which this whole subject was submitted. Prayer was offered by Mrs. Bishop

Clark, the object of the meeting was explained by the writer, and facts in regard to the work inaugurated in New Orleans were presented by Mrs. Dr. Hartzell.

Three plans for organization were presented for discussion: Shall the movement be auxiliary to the Missionary Society, or to the Freedmen's Aid Society, or shall a new organization be formed? The latter plan was approved, with a recommendation for special attention to the Southern field, and a committee was appointed to draft a constitution. Its report was adopted. The constitution, substantially the same as was approved in 1880, in 1884 was adopted by the General Conference.

July 10, 1880, at an adjourned meeting, Mrs. Bishop Wiley in the chair, Mrs. Rust presented the report of the Committee on nominations as follows: President, Mrs. Rutherford B. Hayes; Vice-Presidents, Mrs. Bishop Wiley, Mrs. F. S. Hoyt, Mrs. Bishop Clark, Mrs. A. Shinkle, Mrs. J. M. Walden; Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. R. S. Rust; Recording Secretary, Mrs. James Dale; Treasurer, Mrs. A. R. Clark.

Twelve resident managers were elected, who, together with the general officers, constitute the executive board of the society, and Mrs. John Davis was chosen chairman, which office she has held to the present time, performing its delicate and arduous duties with fidelity and careful consideration.

Mrs. Hayes* has been the president of the society from its organization. At first she hesitated to accept the office, lest her duties at Washington should prevent active co-operation with the Society. After earnest solicitation, she accepted the position, and in her letter of acceptance said: "If the ladies of the Woman's Home Missionary Society believe that my name, and such service as I may be able to render, will aid so good a cause, I cannot decline." The event has proved the wisdom of this action; her influence as president has been of inestimable value to the Society. The honor and esteem with which she is regarded by the good people of this nation lead to a favorable consideration of the cause she has espoused, while her quick grasp of the principles involved, her clear understanding of the details of the work, and her wise judgment as to policy and methods, have been of great value in the

* The use of the accompanying portrait of Mrs. Hayes is kindly allowed by Mrs. Holloway, author of the volume entitled, *Ladies of the White House.*

administration of its affairs. She gives to the Society careful thought and effort, is frequently in counsel with its officers and executive board, and presides at its public meetings with grace and ability. Mrs. Hayes has always been actively engaged in Christian and philanthropic work. The key to her position on this question of home missions will be found in a few sentences of her address at the opening of one of our annual meetings: "We believe that the character of a people depends mainly on its homes. Our special aim, therefore, is to improve home environments, home education, and home influences."

The first public presentation of the claims of the society was made at a meeting held in connection with the Cincinnati Conference, September, 1880. During the fall of that year seven missionaries were employed—five in the South, and two in Utah. The salaries of these ladies were advanced by a friend of ours and of the cause, who believed that the surest way to secure funds to support the work was to enter the field with efficient laborers and demonstrate the practicability of reaching the needy people with helpful influences. Although at first the debt incurred in this work accumulated rapidly, and soon reached three thousand dollars, organizations were effected, interest was aroused, money commenced flowing into the treasury, and before the close of the third year the whole debt had been paid, while the work had been steadily extended, and the Society had raised and expended more than twenty-eight thousand dollars.

Official Recognition.

In the fall of 1881 the movement had already assumed extended proportions. Its friends, feeling that its success depended upon its being brought into harmony with the other enterprises of the Church, prepared a statement of the work and plans of the Society, and addressed it to Rev. J. M. Reid, D. D., and the Rev. C. H. Fowler, D. D., Secretaries of the Missionary Society, asking advice as to the best plans for co-operation with the other branches of missionary work in the Church. The paper expressed the desire of the ladies to bring the new organization into appropriate relations with other missionary enterprises of the Church, in the belief that united Christian effort would be

mutually profitable, and requested suggestions for the approaching annual meeting. The paper was signed by Mrs. Rutherford B. Hayes, President; Mrs. R. S. Rust, Corresponding Secretary; and Mrs. Bishop Wiley, Mrs. John Davis, Mrs. W. G. Williams, Mrs. F. S. Hoyt, and Mrs. G. S. Savage, Committee.

A cordial response was received, recognizing the fact that within the bounds of the United States there is great need of woman's work by woman to extend the usefulness of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and suggesting clauses supplemental to the Constitution.

The Woman's Home Missionary Society at its annual meeting, 1882, adopted amendments in harmony with the suggestions of the Missionary Society.

At the next meeting of the committee the society responded that, "while not unmindful of the vast and important field the Woman's Home Missionary Society has entered upon, and the value of the work undertaken, the society had not constitutional power to enter into any alliance with another society that would give it control of the fields or plans of missionary labor," and advised a reference of the whole question to the General Conference.

The society tendered its services to supplement the work of the other connectional Missionary Agencies of the Church. The enterprise was approved by the General Conference of 1884, and the same relation was given to the Woman's Home Missionary Society as to the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society. Previous to that time sixty Annual Conferences had approved the work, Conference societies had been formed in forty of them, over thirty-five thousand dollars in cash and supplies had been raised and disbursed, and promising missions established in the South and West.

Home Mission Field.

We can only briefly refer to the fields of want and wretchedness in our own country selected by the society for missionary effort. First: There are millions of freed people in the South, involved in the deepest ignorance and degradation, who can be reached only by women, and there are many unfortunate whites wronged and degraded by evils connected with slavery who can only be rescued by woman's sympathy and aid.

Second: The Spanish people of New Mexico are fearfully ignorant and degraded. They are nominally Roman Catholic, but really pagan. Their appeal for Christian aid is scarcely less pathetic than that of those embracing a similar faith and indulging in similar practices in foreign lands. Among the Mexican population no social odium attaches to those who are guilty of immorality and vice. Virtue is hardly known among them.

Scattered over this vast region, mostly in small towns, we find mining-camps and herders' ranches. Many thousand people live therein who know nothing of sacred things or of holy Sabbaths. There is probably less of the true religious element, in proportion to the population, than is to be found in any other settled portion of our country. Jesuit missionaries went into Mexico in the days of the Spanish conquest, with their missions and schools, ostensibly for the conversion of the Indians; but their efforts resulted in little less than the complete subjugation of these ignorant people to a thralldom of degrading rites and superstitions. The reports which come to us of the cruel superstitions connected with the worship of the martyrs, and the penances imposed upon Romanists in this free land, are appalling.*

Third: Indians in the territories, including Alaska, are the victims of the nation's cruelty and injustice. They have claims on us for kind treatment and for Christian civilization even more imperative than the heathen of foreign lands. Superstitious rites and ceremonies, the symbols of fetichism and fire worship, blight their hopes, while the service and sacraments of Christ are indiscriminately and profanely blended in the religious devotions of many tribes of these unfortunate people.

Fourth: More than two hundred thousand Mormons are establishing their abominable system of polygamy and government in the fairest and most promising portions of our country. While women suffer such fearful wrongs from this monstrous system of iniquity in this land, surely women should organize and do all in their power to relieve their sisters from such degradation and sorrow. Mormonism, with a scheme of government aggressive, audacious, defying the laws of our country and of God, is fastening itself with a demon's grasp upon our Western frontiers, where, in the near future, a dozen States may be organized. Already Utah, seeking statehood, has prepared a constitution which, while apparently condemning polygamy, is clearly a

* Fifth Annual Report, Woman's Home Missionary Society, p. 86.

pretense and a fraud by which that wretched system may be remedilessly fastened upon one of the States of this Republic.

Fifth: In our large towns and cities are congregated more than twenty-five per cent. of the population of the whole country, and this proportion is rapidly growing. In the ninety years preceding 1880 the population of the whole country increased twelve fold, while that of the cities increased eighty-six fold. In the leading cities, as Cincinnati, Cleveland, Boston, New York, and Chicago, from sixty-nine to ninety-one per cent. of the population are of foreign birth or parentage. In the larger cities it is well known that vice and socialism abound. In these the saloon rather than the Church holds sway. We are indebted to Dr. J. M. King, of New York, for the following significant facts of the cluster of cities circling around New York. Similar conditions prevail in other chief cities.

	Population.	Protestant Churches.	Roman Catholic Churches.
Brooklyn.			
In 1840	36,233	23	2
In 1850	96,838	55	6
In 1870	396,099	189	26
In 1880	566,689	212	42
In 1887	650,000	242	53
Newark.			
In 1836	19,732	17	1
In 1850	38,894	32	3
In 1870	105,059	66	9
In 1880	136,400	81	11
In 1885	152,868	89	14
Jersey City.			
In 1850	11,578	14	0
In 1870	82,546	28	4
In 1880	151,721	81	2
In 1887	.....	90	16

It will be seen that the increase in Protestant Churches in these cities has not been in proportion to the growth of population, and that the Roman Catholic Church grows much more rapidly than the Protestant.

In Brooklyn, in 1840, there was one Protestant Church to 1,500, and one Catholic Church to 18,000 people. In 1887,

there was one Protestant Church to 2,686, and one Catholic Church to 12,266 persons.

In Newark, in 1836, there was one Protestant Church to 1,160 people, and one Catholic Church to 19,732. In 1885, there was one Protestant Church to 1,700 people, and one Catholic Church to 10,918.

In these three cities in 1840 there was about one Protestant Church to 1,250 persons; in 1887, one to about 3,000. In 1840 there was one Catholic Church to 22,500 persons; in 1887 there is one to about 12,000 population.

NEW YORK CITY.

	Population.	Protestant Churches.			
In 1830.....	202,000	99	— one church to	2,040	souls.
In 1850.....	515,000	211	" "	2,440	"
In 1870.....	942,000	380	" "	2,479	"
In 1880.....	1,206,000	396	" "	3,046	"
In 1887.....	1,500,000	400	" "	3,750	"

Since 1880, population has increased in New York 300,000. To preserve the proportion of Churches then existing, there should have been one hundred Protestant Churches added during these seven years. There are now only four more than there were in 1880. The following figures are even more significant:

	Population.	Saloons.	Protestant Churches.
In the First Assembly District.....	43,998	1,072	7
In the Eighth Assembly District.....	57,342	482	5
In the Twentieth Assembly District....	60,738	287	3

In the 1st, 2d, 3d, 8th, 20th, and 22d, Assembly Districts, there were in 1880, 360,240 people, 3,018 saloons, and 31 Protestant Churches. For this population of 360,000, in New York there are over one hundred times as many saloons as churches; a saloon to every 112 persons, and a Protestant Church to every 10,000 persons.

In the 1st Assembly District there is one saloon to every 47 persons, and one Protestant Church to 6,285 persons. In the 8th Assembly District, one saloon to every 119 persons, and one Protestant Church to every 11,466 persons. In the 20th Assembly District, one saloon to every 208 persons, and one Protestant Church to every 20,246 persons.

In our country the Roman Catholics claim seven millions of

Romanists. These exercise a controlling influence on the polities of several of our large cities, and also on the government, and on the civil and social institutions in a portion of our country equal in extent to half a dozen states. There are, say, nine millions of foreigners among us, while a vast tide of immigration pours into our country, bringing hundreds of thousands every year. Many of these become good citizens, and take high rank among us, while a large proportion of them are the dregs of the Old World. Many of these are contaminated with socialistic and communistic ideas, having but little knowledge of or interest in our government and institutions. There are in the South more than seven millions of colored people, who are still, more or less, suffering from the disabilities resulting from centuries of slavery. Hundreds of thousands of white people in this section are in conditions scarcely superior to that of their dusky neighbors. Add to these the Mormons, the Indians, the Chinese, and the multitudes of ignorant and degraded people crowding the garrets and cellars of our populous cities, and we have an aggregation of dangerous classes furnishing an appeal that cannot fail to arouse the friends of free institutions to make every possible effort to save our country from anarchy and ruin.

Results.

It is too early in the history of this society to attempt to tabulate its results, and yet, for our encouragement, it may be proper to call attention to a few facts and statements illustrating its establishment, its work, and its success. Foundation work is slow. It escapes the notice of careless observers. It is not until the walls go up, and the noble superstructure rises, that merited attention to it is secured; that its beautiful proportions are recognized, and its advantages appreciated.

Thus far the work of the society has been largely foundational. It has been directed to the awakening of the missionary spirit in behalf of the destitute fields in our country, to the crystallization of this sentiment by permanent and efficient organizations, and, through these, to the earnest and successful prosecution of mission work, as the enlightened Christian benevolence of the women and the providence of God have directed and approved. More specifically:

1. The organization of this society has brought into the mission field an additional class of workers from the women. Only a small portion of the females of our Church are engaged in foreign missions; this society is designed to interest as many as possible of those that remain in the home field, which enterprise is no less deserving of aid, nor less promising in results. There are many women in our Church who are so deeply interested in Christian missions that they will cheerfully aid both societies, without any abatement of effort in behalf of the foreign work. They will do all they can to aid their sisters in the new effort for the evangelization of our own land. Service in the home field will quicken the zeal and strengthen the faith of its friends to such a degree that they will be satisfied with nothing less than united faith and effort in behalf of all the inhabitants of the earth.

2. It has been instrumental in awakening an interest in home mission work in persons indifferent and even hostile to foreign missions. Sacrifice for the salvation of the souls at home leads to similar effort for those abroad. Enthusiasm for the conversion of the whole world is sure to follow from a genuine interest in the salvation of any part in it, so that, following the Saviour's command, it is well to begin at home, and attempt to take the world for Christ. No intelligent Christian woman will be satisfied until this grand result is accomplished.

3. It has secured an interest among our people in lines of work hitherto overlooked by every other society of our Church, and of every other Church.

4. It has called the attention of our people to the perils of our own country, the opportunities furnished for usefulness and influence, and the obligations pressing upon us for its evangelization. The Church has been aroused. She is now, as never before, carefully investigating the condition of the needy populations of this country preparatory to a general and enthusiastic effort to capture it for Christ.

5. Organization has been commenced in Conferences, cities, and towns. It is intended to prosecute the work until there shall be an auxiliary of the Woman's Home Missionary Society in every charge of the Church. Fifty-nine Conference Societies have been formed. These include over twelve hundred

auxiliaries, more than thirty thousand annual members, and five hundred life members.

The Society celebrated its sixth anniversary at Detroit, Michigan, October 28, 1886, up to which time it had raised and expended for missionary work, cash, $106,772 78. Clothing and household goods valued at $57,709 23 had also been collected, and forwarded to needy ministers and Churches on the frontier, making in all $164,482 01.

The first year seven missionary teachers were employed, the second eleven, the third seventeen, the fourth twenty-one, the fifth seventeen, and the sixth twenty-eight—this year, thirty; aggregating one hundred and thirty-one teachers. Beneficiary aid to the amount of $6,110 56 has been expended to enable promising girls to profit by the advantages of the schools and model homes. The Society has vested, in property essential to the development of its work, $30,442 74.

The monthly, called *Woman's Home Missions*, published in the interest of the Society by Mrs. S. W. Thomson, has been self-supporting from the beginning. It reached last year a circulation of nearly eleven thousand. It has been edited with taste and ability by Mrs. L. D. McCabe. It is recognized as a most valuable auxiliary among the missionary agencies of the Church. The Society has distributed five million pages of leaflets and addresses. Its plans have been arranged to cooperate with other societies and to meet the needs of the selected locality, whether in the frontiers of the West or of the South, or in our populous cities.

Western Fields.

Dr. Strong stated that in nearly two thirds of all the territory of the United States between the Mississippi River and Alaska, 58.9 per cent. of the inhabitants are of foreign birth or extraction. He also says,

> that in Oregon, only one in eleven of the population in 1880 was in any evangelical Church; Dakota, one in twelve; in Washington, one in sixteen; in California and Colorado, one in twenty; in Idaho, one in thirty-three; in Montana, one in thirty-six; in Nevada one in forty-six; in Wyoming, one in eighty-one; in Utah, one in two hundred and twenty-four; in New Mexico, one in six hundred and fifty-seven; in Arizona, one in six hundred and eighty-five.

That the Church may be established in this section, the people must be reached by a power that will bring them into intelligent sympathy with our Christian institutions. The Church has no connectional educational association operating west of the Mississippi. The Woman's Home Missionary Society can most successfully aid the people through the schools. Women as teachers, through their influence with the children, can gain access to the homes and hearts of the parents. In many cases women alone can give the instruction that is needed to alleviate the prevalent wretchedness. This is true of a large proportion of the native women of New Mexico, of Indian women, and of those in the thralldom of Mormon faith and institutions.

The erection of the Home and Boarding Department of the Salt Lake Seminary was commenced in 1880. Teachers were sent that year to Utah. Each year the work has been enlarged. The Society has now twelve teachers in this field. It has schools or missionary teachers in the San Pete valley, at Ogden, Maroni, Mount Pleasant, Ritchfield, Ephraim, Elsinore, and at Salt Lake City. The difficulty of securing proper accommodations for them has made it necessary to aid in the erection of buildings to the amount of $10,863 45.

Advocating this line of work, the Secretary of the Bureau quotes from Rev. T. C. Iliff, Superintendent of Missions in Utah:

> Please urge upon your Society the need of doubling the number of missionary teachers and building as many of your little mission school-houses as possible. This work of teaching, while of the greatest importance now, will only be for a few years. Just as soon as public schools come into the hands of proper persons, this line of work will cease to be needed. But these little homes you are building are not only an equal necessity now, but will be needed in all the future in the direct carrying on of mission work in this territory.

Two years ago the first mission of the society among the Indians was opened at Pawnee, in the Indian Territory. In its influence for good upon the Pawnees it has been a marked success. Encouraged by the good results secured, steps have been taken to establish missions among tribes of Indians in adjoining Territories, and also in Alaska.

We quote from the report of the secretary:

There was no observance of the Sabbath by whites or Indians within a radius of forty miles. Our missionary addressed herself to establish the Christian Sabbath. In this she succeeded. The Indians, who entertained the whites on the Sabbath with bear-dances, now not only attend the services held by our missionary on that day but have given up their heathen dances. The mission has greatly benefited both whites and Indians, and introduced among them Christian civilization. One chief has died a beautiful death, addressing God as Father. Seven other Indians have recently professed conversion.

Earnest appeals for help come from the Klamaths, the Silets, the Yakimas, and the large tribes of Arizona. A promising field is opening on the Navajos Reservation, an area of the size of Ohio, in north-west New Mexico and north-east Arizona. The Navajos number 22,000. They have increased 12,000 within twelve years. They are rich in sheep, cattle, and horses. They are nomadic. It is proposed to establish a mission at Chenali, a trading post near the beautiful cañon of de Chelly. The manufactures of these remarkable Indians in silver, pottery, and especially in blankets, are very valuable. They are heathen, and destitute of schools. They despise our border civilization, and efficient, faithful missionaries can win them for Christ. Unless this is done quickly the encroachments of the approaching whites will bring upon us the horrors of an Indian war. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs has granted the Society eighty acres of land. Military protection is also promised, if needed. The Indians are ready for the Gospel, and often ask with grief, "Why, then, did you not tell us these things before?"

Of the claims of Alaska the report says:

While Christians made no effort to tell these heathen of Jesus, the whisky-demon began his work. In less than a week after the United States flag was raised at Sitka, among other vices that claimed its protection were "two saloons and two ten-pin alleys." The first gift to native chiefs by the commander of the new department was a few bottles of whisky!

Polygamy in its most hideous forms is practiced, fathers taking their own daughters as wives in the same hovel with their mother. The exchange of wives, as inclination or convenience dictates, is not uncommon. Human sacrifices, infanticide, and other kindred crimes, may be found among the mountains and ravines of Alaska.

Southern Fields.

The several denominations operating in the South have largely devoted their energies to the preparation of teachers and preachers. This has proved a most successful method of elevating the people. The wisdom of this policy is unquestionable.

Wise educators in all parts of the country are making provision for industrial training. Slavery put upon labor the badge of degradation. Our schools, by placing industries in the course of study, and by recognizing their importance, contribute valuable assistance for the removal of this odium.

The department for girls aims to impart practical elementary instruction in the lines of study included in good housekeeping. This requires a knowledge of chemistry, of the science of cooking, the purchase and care of family supplies, household accounts, vegetable, landscape, and floral gardening, home architecture, esthetic and decorative art. It also includes dressmaking, millinery, etc., and practical instruction in home sanitation, physiology, hygiene, physical training, and the duties of a nurse.

Industrial education in connection with the schools of the Freedmen's Aid Society furnishes the Woman's Home Missionary Society a definite field of labor, distinct from any other form of Church benevolence. The Church has thirty schools for advanced instruction in this section, in which are more than six thousand students. The fact that the fields of skilled labor are closed to a large proportion of the youth of both races, except through the instrumentality of the denominational schools, gives especial importance to this line of instruction.

The Society entered the South with its workers, who engaged in general city mission work and in visiting from house to house, but it was soon discovered that much valuable effort was lost for the want of continuous care and personal attention to mature into permanent form the results reached.

It has since developed two lines of work: one in co-operation with our schools of higher grade, furnishing educational and industrial training, which is illustrated by the work of the "Model Home." The other is carried on by itself, apart from school connections. It provides a home for girls, kindergarten, kitchengarten, industrial and school training, assuming their care and in part their support.

First. The "Model Home," connected with the school, furnishes for the imitation of pupils a beautiful home life. These homes are designed to accommodate a family of from twelve to sixteen girls. The few already in operation have demonstrated

their great value. The Church has for years, at great expense, by educating the freedmen, been laying the foundation on which the Woman's Home Missionary Society may build. A large proportion of the pupils now in the schools have always lived in cabins, destitute of conveniences and comforts. They have little idea of social life and order, or of the sacredness of the family relations. They are drawn together from a widely extended territory. They represent the most enterprising elements of the population. From these are selected girls of considerable attainment, of good moral character, cherishing high aims in life. These, at moderate expense and in a short time, are prepared for missionary service. They become more successful teachers of their people than strangers, since they understand them better and can sympathize more intelligently with their needs.

In connection with each educational institution there is a demand for a Model Home. Young men attending the college, becoming acquainted with these excellent homes, are encouraged to cultivate the economical habits and the moralities necessary to secure one. They learn to respect woman in her proper sphere, as the conservator of home rather than as a laborer in the field, and the influence of these as ministers and teachers will carry the inspiration of better living all over the South.

The Society has five of these Homes; one at Atlanta, Ga., another at Orangeburg, S. C., the third at Greensboro, N. C., the fourth at Holly Springs, Miss., and the fifth at Little Rock, Ark. The aggregate cost of this property is $16,530. Since they were established one hundred and fifty girls have, in them, been provided with a year's instruction in housekeeping, six hundred have had special training in the industrial classes, while thousands of young men and women, instructed by the example of the Model Home, have received higher ideals of life, and gained much practical knowledge of its duties. A large proportion of these have taught a part of each year. The students that have gone out from the Home have given one or more years of valuable labor as missionary teachers.

Second. The Industrial Schools. The Society has two of these—one at Savannah, Ga., the other at Jacksonville, Fla.—in which girls receive industrial education and moral training.

The expenses of the pupils are largely met by the Society, although quite a number are supported by parents or friends. It is hoped that by retaining these young persons for a succession of years in the Home, they will acquire valuable information in the practical duties of life, develop symmetrical Christian character, and become useful members of society. The mission at Savannah has been in operation three years with gratifying results. Thirty-six are accommodated in the family, and one hundred in the day-school. Three missionary teachers are employed, and through their instrumentality a second mission, with Day and Sunday School, has been successfully inaugurated at Speedwell, a suburb of the city. The Sunday-school at the Methodist Church is conducted by these missionaries, aided by their most advanced pupils. Mrs. J. L. Whetstone has taken a deep interest in this missson, and contributed liberally to the purchase of the property.

The enterprise at Jacksonville was opened last year, and is under the care of a missionary and an assistant. There have been ten girls in the family, and seventy-five in the industrial day classes. These missionaries teach sewing, and hold temperance meetings in three neighboring places. The building and grounds for these two industrial schools have been provided at an expense of $14,168 89.

Our Cities.

It is patent that the masses in our cities who most need the elevating influence of the Gospel are not attracted to the church by its accustomed services. The beautiful music, fervent prayers and eloquent sermons do not reach these wanderers from the house of God, with their burdened hearts. They need light in their darkness, sympathy in their sorrow, help in their poverty, and encouragement in their despondency.

Why not make mission churches centers for all saving influences, where may be found schools in which children may be trained in morals and in useful occupations, young women taught remunerative industries, agencies where employment may be secured, and, above all, places where any who come would be met with loving sympathy?

Through its Bureau of Local or City Work, the Woman's

Home Missionary Society might prosecute such a work as this. The strength of several Conference Societies might be concentrated in a large city for mission work, and prosperous churches so engaged would not languish and die. In this line of its activity the great possibilities of usefulness of the Woman's Home Missionary Society might be illustrated.

The necessity of self-sacrificing effort in behalf of the masses is most impressively enforced in the following quotation:

> The Church must show to the world a society in which the strong really, actually, bear the burdens and infirmities of the weak, and seek not to please themselves. The masses will never be won until the Church is such a society. If the masses will not come to the Church, then the Church must go to the masses. If men are to be saved, other men must sacrifice themselves to reach them. I can see no solution for our problem except this; we must compel men to come in by the power of love; we must go to them in the spirit that brought Jesus to the earth. The Church must go to those who will not come to it; go with its loving invitations, and patient instructions, and persuasive entreaties, and ceaseless ministries; and when it is willing to do that, it will find that most of its work for years to come will be taking Jesus Christ to those who will not come to him.

The report of the secretary of this department furnishes the following:

> The importance of the work committed to this bureau, namely, the supervision of the mission work, the support of industrial schools, temperance organizations, and the employment of Bible readers for general missionary work among women and children in our large cities and towns, a work supplementary to the Christian Church and leading into it, can scarcely be overestimated. There are localities and wards in every large city needing missionary labor as much as it is needed South or West; even more, if possible, for in the cities the disease is acute, and it is a question of saving a limb or losing the whole body. So felt is the need of purification in the great cities that we have no fear that, when our plan of work shapes itself in our minds, and our desire to meet the demand becomes known, workers and means will come to us as we need them. The Woman's Home Missionary Society wishes to put itself in its own special field—namely, woman's work for woman—into vital practical relations with all our Church missionary movements in the great cities, as rapidly as the way opens to us and means flow into our treasury.

From the commencement of this movement the Society has responded, to the extent of its ability, to urgent calls of the

most needy people of our country. Careful attention has been given to efforts in behalf of the Freedmen, of the Mormons, and of the Indians. But the society has constantly felt a strong drawing toward the needy population of our cities. Evidently God, in his providence, is molding and preparing it to engage in this important work. It has not yet been able to satisfactorily formulate plans and thoroughly systematize this work. While it studies the question, and listens attentively to the suggestions of wisdom and experience, we believe at no distant day, under Divine guidance, it will enter upon the work of saving the masses in cities with an enthusiasm and an efficiency that will secure the most hopeful results. We feel assured that a mission of so great importance is worthy the providential origin and earnest endeavor of this organization of the Church.

The Training School for Missionaries, at Chicago, by its remarkable success, suggests a new and efficient agency for city evangelization. Schools similar to this may be established anywhere, and become great centers of missionary influence. The enterprise was started under the auspices of this society, and has become an instrumentality of blessing not only for Chicago and this country, but for foreign lands. Already in it are consecrated women preparing themselves for mission work at home and abroad. A beautiful building for the school has been erected at a cost of $26,000. Forty-three students are in attendance, all of whom are engaged in active mission work. These have made this year 2,795 religious visits and have taught 5,432 pupils. Nine young ladies have enlisted in the order of Deaconess, and give their whole time and strength, without compensation, to city mission work in Chicago.

The report of the work says:

> Every pupil, whatever her purpose for the future, during her course of instruction is employed as a city missionary. This school has its workers in seventeen churches and missions in Chicago. The plan is to put ladies under the various pastors, making them responsible to the pastor for results and to the school for methods. The time seems near when every church and mission in the city that needs help from us may have, without expense, two or more missionaries under the direction of the pastor. Bishop Foster said of the enterprise. "This school is a growth. It has arisen to meet an absolute necessity. It is a

great thing that these students can have this training, and the best part of it is that they are introduced to the hardest mission work in the hardest part of Chicago. It will develop courage, skill, invention, and devotion."

The Society has a mission at Castle Garden, New York. Until a year ago there was no Protestant missionary at this place to attend to the spiritual wants of the English-speaking immigrants. The Hebrews were provided for, the German, Scandinavian, and Roman Catholic Churches had also their Homes, but the Protestant English-speaking immigrants were neglected. From the report of Mrs. Mathews, our missionary, we take the following:

The number of immigrants landed every year is very great. Eighty-four large steamships arrive from Europe every month, bringing passengers to this port. Of these, twelve come from the Mediterranean, laden with Italians chiefly; fourteen from the Baltic and Zuyder Zee, bearing Russians and Scandinavians; twenty from the German Ocean, freighted with Danes, Dutch, and Teutons; six from France; and last, but largest in number as well as interest, thirty-two from Great Britain and Ireland, loaded with English-speaking people.

When from 6,000 to 9,000 are congregated in the rotunda at one time the sounds are more suggestive of Babel than Pentecost, and the perfume is not such as arises from the gardens of spices. We have pathetic scenes. Women have come expecting a husband to meet them: he does not come, and no word comes. These need comforting. Poor people who have sold their little all for just enough money to get here, hoping to get work at once, are disappointed, heart-sick, home-sick, and hungry. These call for aid. Men who have left their country for their country's good—these need advice. Plenty to do among every ship load.

We are already seeing fruit from our seed-sowing. Many letters reach us from families for whom we have obtained situations, thanking us for the interest taken in them. Some of the immigrants have written home to their friends, telling them of the missionary at Castle Garden who will give them books and good advice, and it is quite common now to have parties inquire on landing for the Methodist missionary.

If we had a Home we could bring women and children there who are waiting to be met. We could have persons seeking employment, especially domestic servants, sent to us from the churches where they belong. The need of a Mission House and Immigrant Home becomes more and more apparent. Protestant people object to the priest's house, as they do not want to attend mass. Then the boarding-houses represented at Castle Garden are connected with the liquor traffic, but there is no cheap boarding house, conducted on temperance principles, near the Garden.

Art. II.—PROFESSOR BOWNE'S PSYCHOLOGY.*

Professor Bowne is no stranger to students of metaphysics. His trenchant and brilliant criticism of Herbert Spencer gained their attention, while his *Theism* and *Metaphysics* gave him an assured place among the first metaphysicians of America. All worshipers, therefore, at the shrine of philosophy—and there are still a few such—will be glad to hear of this new offering. Nor will their hopes be disappointed. They will find the same lucidity of exposition, the same power of illustration, the same merciless scorn of opponents, and the same acuteness of thought that characterized his earlier works.

In the book before us Professor Bowne attempts to answer two questions: 1) What are the ultimate elements of the facts and processes of the human mind? 2) What is our actual mental life as a combination of these elements? In opposition to Comte and his school, his method is mainly introspective, though he admits that we cannot gain a complete knowledge of the human mind by the study of the individual consciousness alone, and that the narrow and one-sided results of such a study need to be corrected and supplemented by a study of life and history and literature.

The author begins his answer to his first question by maintaining the existence of the self as the subject of our mental states. The followers of Hume assure us that the sensations, thoughts, feelings, and volitions which we experience constitute the entire content of our being. It is not true, they say, as common sense imagines, that *I* am something different from these experiences, something which *has* them; on the contrary, I *am* the experiences which reveal themselves to my consciousness from moment to moment and nothing more; my entire being is poured out into them without remainder.

The attentive reader will observe that this view is not only inconceivable—it cannot even be stated except in terms that imply its opposite. "I am the sensations, thoughts, feelings, and volitions which reveal themselves to my consciousness," etc. What does "my" mean? If there is no subject, if these vanishing experiences are all there is of me, is not the "my"

* *Introduction to Psychological Theory*, by Borden P. Bowne.

altogether meaningless? But if we not only omit it from the sentence, but seek to banish the fact implied by it from the thought of which the sentence professes to be the expression, we shall realize that we are in a new difficulty. For what is meant by "consciousness?" Is it something in addition to the experiences which, in order to be intelligible, I have been in the habit of calling mine? Evidently not, for according to the hypothesis they constitute my entire being. The term consciousness, then, either means nothing at all or is merely a collective term to denote the facts that are said to reveal themselves to it, and we are left with the statement, "I am sensations, thoughts, feelings, and volitions." But which group am I? To use the language of the ordinary creed—and no other is intelligible—there are many persons in the world. What characteristic or quality or attribute attaches to the group of experiences which constitute *me*, and differentiates it from those that constitute all other persons?

But, granting the possibility of mental states apart from a subject, such mental states could not account for the unity of our mental life. The co-existence and succession of mental states is one thing, a knowledge of such co-existence and succession quite another. Now if what we call a mind consists of particular experiences, though co-existent they cannot be known as such, since each, being particular, cannot know any thing of the others; for in knowing any thing of the others it would assume the character of universality—cease to be what the theory requires it to be.

Professor Bowne's illustration will make this clearer:

> Let *a*, *b*, *c*, and *d* be respectively a sensation of color, of odor, of taste, and of sound. Plainly no consciousness can be built out of these elements. The color knows nothing of the odor, the taste knows nothing of the sound. Each is a particular and isolated unit, and must remain so until some common subject, *m*, is given, in the unity of whose consciousness these elements may be united. For as long *a*, *b*, *c*, etc., are all, there is no common consciousness, and hence no rational consciousness at all. We conclude, then, that the mental life, both in its elements and in its combinations, must have a subject. It is not only unintelligible, it is impossible, without it.—Page 13.

It should be carefully noted, that if this reasoning is just, we reach a subject of our mental states not by an inference

from the facts of consciousness, but by an actual analysis of them. The co-existence of mental states is an absolute certainty. That is universally conceded to be a fact of consciousness. What is involved in it? There is involved in it an element in our conscious lives *over and above* the co-existent states; a universal element present to each of these particular and co-existing states, and making possible the knowledge of their co-existence. Precisely as an analysis of water shows that it is a compound of hydrogen and oxygen, so an analysis of the fact that states of consciousness are known to be co-existent, shows the presence of something besides the co-existent facts: a subject to which these co-existing facts appear, and which knows them as co-existent.

It is hardly necessary to say that an analysis of the knowledge of likeness and unlikeness, of cause and effect, of here and there, of motion, of any relation, in short, will reveal the same fact. Two things may be like or unlike; they may be, in a word, relative to each other, one may be here and the other there, they may change their places, but the knowledge of these things is impossible if mental life consists of particular experiences not brought into unity by their relation to a common subject. If one man sees a moving ball for an indivisible point of time and no longer, and another for another, there can be no perception of motion, because there can be no comparison of successive positions. There *are* successive positions, but they are not known as such; A saw the ball at *a*, and B at *b*, but A's perception *a* and B's perception *b* are not sufficient to constitute a perception of motion—though they are a perception of successive positions—because they are not *known* as successive positions since they are not the experiences of one and the same person.

These considerations appear to me a demonstration of the reality of the mental subject. But this is so emphatically denied by materialism that it may be well to examine its grounds before proceeding.

No one denies that the mental life is in some way dependent upon the organism, especially upon the brain and nervous system. But materialism is not the necessary inference from such dependence. For though the explanation of it may be that the organism *produces* the facts of consciousness, it may

be, also, that the relation between those facts and the organism is not that of cause and effect, but of *condition* and *conditioned*, and that though the mind is conditioned in its activities by the organism, it is nevertheless distinct from it. Which of these is the true explanation?

We note in the first place the utter unlikeness of physical and mental facts. Matter has form and position; its forces are moving forces. How can they produce thought? The most plausible answer which materialism makes to this question is based on the doctrine of the transformation of energy. As in certain relations matter manifests gravity, in certain others affinity, in still others magnetism, so in others, it is claimed, it manifests vital and mental properties. Now, granting the utmost that this theory contends for, all it can do is to account for states of consciousness. But we have seen that though we cannot deny the possibility of a sentient life consisting simply of states of consciousness, the mental life of man consists in something entirely different—a consciousness of states. Thoughts and feelings, as we have seen, demand a subject, and are meaningless and impossible apart from it. In order to make out its case, materialism must not only account for thoughts and feelings, but also for the subject of them. Until it has solved this problem—until it has shown that co-existing facts are the same thing as the knowledge of co-existence—it has no claim upon our attention.

In the second place, materialism is not a workable theory. We are not merely or chiefly intellectual beings; we have a practical nature, and it is as incumbent in a theory to make provision for its legitimate demands as it is that it should have logical consistency. But if materialism be true, we are merely the creatures and tools of blind unconscious forces, and tragedy is comedy, and aspiration and heroism and self-sacrifice are entirely due to a certain collocation of the particles of our nervous systems. Will such a theory work?

We pass to consider sensation. Sensation is the effect produced in consciousness by certain nervous changes. The apparent causal order is, 1) the action of an external stimulus; 2) the resulting nervous change; 3) the conscious sensation. Some psychologists, Hamilton for instance, contend that there is something of a psychical nature intermediate between the

nervous action and the conscious sensation. The existence of this something—Hamilton called it latent modification of consciousness—is contended for on several grounds. One of them is, that the physical antecedents of sensation are often present when there is no sensation. There are authentic accounts of soldiers who were severely wounded in battle and remained unconscious of it until the excitement of the fight was over. But because there was no conscious psychical state are we justified in assuming an unconscious one? I cannot see why. Apart from experience, we should have no more reason to suppose that the infliction of a wound would cause pain than we have to suppose that a tree feels pain when it is cut down. Experience has taught us that under normal circumstances the infliction of a wound causes pain; if there are abnormal circumstances under which this is not the case, have we any right to invent a sub-conscious state in order to account for it? I cannot think so. For aught we can say, one is just as natural as the other. When the attention is free to follow the solicitations of feeling, the infliction of a wound causes pain. Will some one tell why? When the attention is powerfully drawn in another direction, the infliction of a wound may not cause pain. Will some one say why it may not be so? In the one case we have the infliction of a wound, and as its concomitant conscious pain; in the other we have the infliction of a wound and no conscious concomitant. Surely, before we are justified in assuming that there must be a psychical concomitant below consciousness, we must be able to explain why it is that the infliction of pain under normal circumstances has a psychical concomitant. The argument is based on a suicidal assumption. That assumption is, that an external stimulus must produce its full nervous effect without regard to the condition of the nervous system; and that the nervous system, in turn, must produce its full mental effect without regard to the state of mind. Now if this assumption is valid we are entitled—or rather compelled—to assume that this mental effect must in turn produce its full conscious result without regard to the state of the attention, which does not happen.

The existence of sub-conscious states is also based on such facts as the following:

a. The physical stimulus which excites the nervous action

is composed of an indefinite number of elements either of extension or of intensity. Now as the whole cause produces the effect of which we are conscious, each separate element must produce its separate psychical effect although we are not conscious of it. Hence there must be sub-conscious states.

b. Further, a regular succession of single beats is heard as single beats as long as the rate of recurrence falls below a certain standard. When it rises above this standard, we no longer hear a series of beats, but a musical note. Now as they were heard as a series when the rate of recurrence was relatively slow, they must *exist* as a series when the rate has become faster; and as they do not appear as such in consciousness, they must do so below consciousness.

c. Further, white light is composed of several primary colors, each of which must produce the psychical effect proper to it when acting alone, though the effect of which we are conscious is white light.

The first argument makes essentially the same assumption as the one already considered. Because a given quantum of stimuli produces a certain effect, it is assumed that each smallest part of it must produce an effect of like nature. But we have already seen that such assumptions are wholly without warrant.

The second argument, like the two already considered, ignores the fact that all we know about the connection between physical and mental facts is based on experience. On *a priori* grounds nothing would seem more unlikely than that motion of any kind would be the condition of any kind of sensation. And because we find it to be the case as a matter of fact, we have no right to go beyond experience, and decide that what does not exist in consciousness must exist somewhere else. What kind of mental facts, whether any or not, are connected with physical facts we must learn from experience, and where we have no experience we are entitled to no opinion.

The third argument makes the same general assumption, and need not, therefore, detain us.

Closely akin to this theory is another—that our sensations are not simple, but are susceptible of analysis into the elements of which they are composed.

Now these component elements are either conscious or unconscious. If they are held to be unconscious, the theory is iden-

tical with the one we have just considered. But if they are held to be conscious, its supporters must point out the alleged elements; and until they do so we may fairly assume that their theory has no foundation in fact.

Inasmuch as many psychologists contend that simple sensibility is the only original faculty of the mind—that all we believe is due to sensations and associations of sensations—this seems the proper place to consider the laws of association. Professor Bowne thinks that all of them—contiguity in space and time, cause and effect, similarity and contrast—may be reduced to one, the law of redintegration. This law is, "that the mind can be stimulated to perform anew any past function by the recurrence in experience of one or more of the factors that entered into that function."—P. 91. The meaning of this is, that when any part of a previous experience is repeated the mind tends to restore the whole. If, for example, I have seen A and B but once, and then together, the sight of A would tend to recall the thought of B.

No argument is needed to show that all the laws except that of resemblance may be reduced to this formula. Contiguity in space and time have no effect on the mind save as the contiguous events and things are apprehended in a common experience. The same is true of cause and effect, means and end, contrast, etc. A cause suggests its effect, a means its end, because they have been seen or thought of together; because they have been factors of a common experience. Wherever contrasts suggest each other the reason will be found to be the same.

The law of association by resemblance is not as manifestly a case of the law of redintegration. Indeed, at first sight it seems impossible to so explain it. I see a Chinaman to-day whom I never saw before, and he makes me think of a Chinaman whom I saw in Denver ten years ago. How can this Chinaman, whom I saw to-day for the first time, be considered a factor of the experience which I had in seeing the Chinaman in Denver?

As the point is one of some difficulty, the reader shall have the benefit of Professor Bowne's own explanation:

> Likeness, as such, becomes a ground of suggestion only as the present experience, *AbcD*, contains elements, *bc*, common to another experience, *MbcN*. This common element, *bc*, stimulates the mind, under favorable circumstances, to fill out the allied form

MbcN. Sometimes *bc* is entirely inefficient, and then there is no suggestion. Sometimes it stimulates the mind to perform the function *MbcN*, but with only partial success. Then we have the peculiar experience of being reminded of something, we cannot say what. To understand this result, we must remember that all our experiences are compound, or have several distinguishable elements; for example, a picture may be distinguished by its subject, the treatment, the grouping, the drawing, the coloring, the frame, the hanging, and even by the location; and association or suggestion may take place through any one of these elements. Hence we may put an object, A, equal to its elements, *abcde;* and another object, B, may be put equal to its elements *ablmr.* If, then, we have A before us, and our attention be concentrated upon it, there will be no suggestion. In other cases, the factor *ab*, common to both A and B, may stimulate the mind to complete the function *ablmr.* If this succeeds, B will be recalled or suggested by virtue of the likeness of A to B; that is, because of the common factor *ab.* If it does not succeed to the extent of completely reproducing the function, then we say that A reminds us of something, we cannot say what.—Page 93.

The *ab* in this illustration are *identical thought factors joined with different sensational elements.* The Chinaman, for example, who to-day reminded me of the Chinaman whom I saw in Denver is identical with the latter *as a Chinaman;* different from him as a person with an individuality and characteristics of his own. I have but one concept of Chinaman, as I have but one of man, and this one concept I apply to every individual of the class. When I saw the Chinaman in Denver, I applied to him my concept of Chinaman; and when I saw the Chinaman to-day I had the same concept, though I applied it to a different individual. This reasoning enables us to subsume the law of association by resemblance under the law of redintegration.

But many psychologists, as we have seen, deny that there is any thought factor in our mental life in contradistinction from sensation and the laws of association. As this is on many accounts one of the most important questions of psychology, it deserves a careful consideration. Obviously the first thing to be done is to ascertain exactly what sensation is, apart from all the manipulations of thought or of the laws of association. Before we have a right to make up our minds that sensations worked over by the laws of association are capable of explaining our mental life, we must get clear ideas as to the material the laws

of association have to work on. The first step in this direction is the realization that a sensation *named*, considered as a member of a class, is *not* sensation as postulated by the theory. We speak of sensation of color, taste, smell, sound, etc. But all these are more than sensations; they are sensations *plus* something else, and that something is just that which gives them all their meaning—that which enables them to become the subject of intelligible discourse—that which enables us to regard them as members of a class. If we clearly realize that it is what I may call the universal aspect of any experience that gives it all its significance for thought, we shall see that sensation as an absolutely particular experience, deprived of all the contributions of thought, obstinately refuses to allow itself to be made the basis of an argument, because it cannot even be conceived except negatively. Professor Bowne well says that

> the single sensation is not properly known as long as it is only an affection of the sensibility; for sensation as a state of feeling is not necessarily a clear mental object. A child whose appetite is satisfied, and whose body is comfortably warm and at ease in all respects, is doubtless in a pleasant state of feeling, but it has no rational apprehension of the fact. The dog on the rug and the cat on the hearth are probably very comfortable, but it is doubtful if they can be said to know it. Before the sensitive state can properly become a mental object, it must be discriminated from the self as a state, and set over against the self as its object. And even this would imply only a general objectification of the object, and no definite knowledge. In order to reach an intimate knowledge, the sensation must be classified and related. It is hardly known at all [I should say it is *not* known at all] until it is known as one of a kind; and in order to this it must be discriminated from the unlike and assimilated to the like. Until this is done, we have a feeling without a clearly defined content, and one to which we can give no definite place in our mental system.—Page 118.

All this appears to me incontrovertible, and the failure to apprehend it is the source of all the fallacies of the associationalists. Confounding sensation as a simple affection of the sensibility with the consciousness of sensation, with sensation perceived to be of a certain kind and to be a member of a class—confounding the likeness of sensations with the consciousness of likeness, their existence with the consciousness of existence, their succession with the consciousness of their succession—they have had no difficulty in making sensibility do all the work of

thought. But when we clearly apprehend what sensation is, or rather, since that is impossible, what it is not, we shall see that there is another process in our mental life besides the "movements and affections of the sensibility; an activity upon them which results in the judgment, the establishment of relations, and thus in rational knowledge." This activity Prof. Bowne calls the thought process.

Prof. Bowne truly says that the existence of an activity above sensation is shown by the most familiar experiences:

> When we view a complex but unfamiliar object we have a complete sensation, yet we cannot tell what we have seen, owing to the failure to establish relations among the component elements of the object. Again, when we look at a large number of objects, or a figure with many sides, we have the same result. The sensation is perfect, but knowledge is lacking. Nor is knowledge possible until the mind has reacted upon the sensation, and by a process of counting and construction mastered its significance. Again, we may pronounce a sentence whose words are all familiar, as, Peter's wife's mother's uncle's sister's husband is coming to see us. In such a case we might be greatly puzzled to identify an understanding of the words expressing the relation with a comprehension of the relation expressed. Nor will any mere staring at the object help us to knowledge. Objects cannot count themselves. The eyes cannot count them. The plurality of sensations constitutes the countable, not the counted. The significance of attention does not consist in an intenser stare, but in a new order of activity, the establishment of relations among the elements of sense experience. These facts show sensation may be complete and knowledge lacking, and cancel the attempt to identify sensation with the knowledge resulting from it.

And just as the sensibility would give us no sensations if it were not induced to act by an external stimulus, so there would be no thought activity if it were not occasioned by the presence of sensations.

But what is the nature of this thought activity? All thinking consists in establishing relations of likeness and difference. But things are neither like nor unlike in general, but in certain particular points or features. We say of two men that they resemble each other in height, or figure, or style of dress, or taste, etc., but a likeness which does not consist in likeness in certain particular respects is inconceivable. Hence, to understand the activity of thought we must ascertain the general relations which thought finds or establishes among its objects.

The first of these relations—variously called categories of thought, regulative ideas, etc.—which we will notice, is time. Sensationalists have no difficulty with the question as to the origin of the idea of time, because they confuse the sequence of sensations with the idea of sequence. Having the idea of sequence, all that is necessary is to abstract from this sense experience in order to get the idea of time as a whole. But the fallacy of this confusion has already been shown, and need not be dwelt on further.

There are three conditions of the idea of time: 1. A sequence of states of consciousness; 2. Identity of the conscious subject; 3. An apprehension of this sequence by means of a comparison of it with the abiding subject. If our being consisted simply of changing states, the idea of time, and indeed of all relations, would be impossible. The idea of time is an idea of a relation between two or more things, and both terms of the relation must be grasped by something outside of them to make the idea possible. The idea would be equally impossible in the absence of all succession or change. That union of the changing and changeless—of that which passes away and that which abides—which we find in our self-consciousness is a necessary condition of the idea of time. If there were no change there would be no times between which to establish the relation; if there were nothing abiding there would be nothing to establish the relation between them.

It is important to note that the mind is not passive in its apprehension of time. Erroneously supposing that the mind is passive in external perception—that all we have to do in order to perceive the world of material objects is to open our eyes and passively receive their impression—we are apt to make a similar mistake in our conception of the relation between the sequence of states of consciousness and the idea of time. We are apt to suppose that consciousness passively perceives the sequence of its states somewhat as a piece of wax receives the impressions of a seal. But in truth the matter is far otherwise. As the perception of the external world is the result of the mind's reaction upon sensations—as there would be for us no external world were it not for the constructive activity of thought—so the idea of time first arises in the mind when its successive experiences excite it to unite them under the form

of time; and apart from its activity there would be for us no time.

Space is a category in the perception of the external world. We perceive material objects only as in space. What is the origin of the idea of space? The theory of common sense is, that things are extended and in space, and that the mind directly knows them as such. Now whether things exist in space independently of the mind is a metaphysical question with which we have nothing to do. The question we are discussing has no relation to space as an objective existence, but merely as an idea of the mind. But if space does exist objectively, and things in it, their existence does not explain our perception of them. We have as much right to say that the revolution of the planets about the sun in elliptical orbits is a proof of itself, that men never could have been ignorant of it because it is true, as that the existence of space and of things in space is a sufficient explanation of our knowledge of space and our idea of space. "But," the champion of common sense may reply, "the revolution of the planets does not *act* upon us." "Neither does space," I reply. "If space exists objectively—and I insist that that is not the question under discussion—it is mere emptiness, the entire negation of all energy and force." "But at any rate things with spacial properties act upon us," retorts the supporter of common sense. "Yes," I reply, "and so do the planets, in revolving around the sun in elliptical orbits." "But they do not directly act upon the mind." "No, neither do the things that exist in space. They act upon our nervous systems, causing a motion in its particles, and the result of this motion is an indescribable experience, as unlike its cause as words are unlike thoughts, which we call sensations." The possession of sensations is not the perception of the external world. Not until the mind puts its own stamp upon them, makes them intelligible by laws of interpretation of its own, is there any perception. Is the fact that things existing in space are the remote cause of the sensations out of which we construct the external world a sufficient explanation of the fact that we perceive things in space? Is it not, rather, clear that we perceive things in space because of the *manner* in which the mind reacts upon its sensations? In and of themselves sensations are a confused and meaningless manifold. Into this

mass of unintelligible hieroglyphics the mind reads a meaning by laws of its own, and one of these laws is the category of space. And if there were no law according to which the mind, by virtue of its very nature, perceives things as in space, we should have no perception of space, however real space may be. Precisely as a savage might stare unintelligently at Raphael's great painting in Dresden because his mind would not furnish the principle of interpretation, so we may conceive a consciousness with the same sensations which we possess but *without* the form of space, because the consciousness in question does not supply the form of space.

But the associationalists deny that there is any category of space. They hold that sensations and the recollections of sensations recurring in time, according to the laws of association, entirely explain our idea of space. We cannot enter into the details of this theory or of the author's examination of it. We sum up the author's criticism in his own words: The associational theory "either begs the question, or else, instead of deducing the idea of space, calls certain associations of temporal sensations space."—P. 147.

Number is another category of thought. The activity of the mind in this category consists 1) in establishing a unit, and 2) in counting.

It may seem at first sight entirely gratuitous to assume an activity of the mind in establishing a unit. It seems as though units were furnished directly by experience, and that in being conscious of our experience we are conscious of units. Before we can decide this question we must free the term experience from ambiguity. The term may mean the direct and sole result of the action of the sensibility, or it may mean this result after it has been manipulated by the categories of thought. Those who differ with Professor Bowne, and hold that units are furnished directly by experience, must manifestly use the term in the first sense. Now it seems to me that a little reflection should convince any one that experience in this sense only presents to consciousness *that which thought may regard as a unit.* I see a yard-stick. Is that one, or is it three, or is it thirty-six? It is any one of the three according as the mind chooses to make the unit an inch or a foot or a yard. Shall I take an apple, or a bushel of apples, or an orchard, or a field, or

a county, or a state, or a continent, or a solar system, or a universe as my unit? Which decides this question—sensation or thought? Plainly all that sense-experience does is to furnish us with the numerable, but our ideas of number are furnished by the mind itself. The difficulty in perceiving this grows out of a lack of what I may call metaphysical imagination. Ask a young student who is just being initiated into the mysteries of metaphysics if there is sound in a desert when an explosion occurs in the absence of any consciousness, and he will probably answer, Yes. He has been so in the habit of projecting his sensations into the external world—of clothing material things with states of consciousness—that he cannot think of material things apart from them. In like manner, there are things which, on grounds of convenience, are universally regarded as units, and this point of view of the mind, if I may use such an expression, has been so habitually projected into the world of things that we find it hard not to regard it as a property of the world.

The categories so far considered are formal and logical, rather than metaphysical. Relations of likeness and unlikeness, of time and space and number, do not necessarily imply any existence beyond the consciousness in which those relations are apprehended. If there were but one being in the world—if the world consisted of one conscious being—he might conceivably be conscious of like and unlike states; he might seem to perceive a world of things existing under the forms of space and time, and having the attributes of number, just as we do now, so far as the categories which we have so far considered are concerned. To get out of ourselves, to pass beyond the bounds of our narrow subjective existence into a world that exists apart from and independently of us, we must have recourse to the metaphysical categories—to the categories of substance and cause and effect.

Two very different questions concerning substance and cause are frequently confused with each other—the question as to the origin of the ideas of substance and cause, and the question as to the reality of substance and cause. Whence comes my idea of substance and my idea of cause is one question. Is there any such thing as substance and is there any such thing as cause is totally a different question, and should be carefully

discriminated from the other. The second question is a question of metaphysics rather than of psychology, though there is a point in which the two seem to coincide. In discussing the question of the reality of the mental subject, we sought to show that the existence of the mental subject appears from a simple analysis of the facts of consciousness. Here the facts of consciousness—psychological truths—seem to establish the ontological fact of the existence of the mental subject. And so they do—but only *during the moment in which we are conscious of them.* As soon as the facts of which I am conscious pass beyond the sphere of consciousness into recollection, I only remember that I had them; and though the present facts of consciousness always afford me assurance of the reality of the mental subject, I can know that this subject abides from moment to moment, I can know the identity of self only as I can trust my memory, and the trustworthiness of memory is a question of metaphysics, not of ontology. As to the origin of our idea of substance, we have only to get a clear conception of it to see that it does not come from sensation. Substance denotes "reality in relation to attributes," and the senses give us no knowledge of any thing but attributes. The eye tells us of color, the ear of sounds, the nose of odors, the tongue of tastes, but beyond this they are silent. They cannot lift the veil that curtains phenomena. If, then, we have the idea of substance it could not have come from sensation. Similarly with the idea of cause. Cause means "reality in relation to activities." Such an idea cannot have come from experience. Since Hume published his "Inquiry," it has been a truism in metaphysics that experience shows us nothing but antecedence and sequence. If our idea of cause contains more than this, it could not have come from experience.

As to the metaphysical question concerning the reality of cause, it needs no great acuteness to enable one to perceive that a denial of it cuts away the only bridge by means of which we can span the chasm that yawns between the *ego* and the *non ego.* No metaphysician has ever denied the reality of causes in every sense of the term. The empiricists, for example, have only contended that cause is not what Professor Bowne defines it, "reality in relation to activities," but some kind of time relation. John Stuart Mill defined it "invariable unconditional

antecedence." But that kind of cause, as the empiricists conceive it, will not avail to take us beyond the narrow confines of our subjective existence. For, as Mill was careful to state, the antecedent and consequent in question must both of them be phenomenal, something which may be conceived as capable of appearing to me. He expressly said that we have no right to believe in a cause in the sense of a relation between phenomena and something which is not phenomenal, because we are justified in believing in causes in the sense of a relation between phenomena. Hence all that such a law of causation can do is to serve as a basis for belief in phenomena and laws of phenomena; a non-phenomenal fact cannot, in the nature of the case, be revealed by it. If, then, I hold the empirical theory of causation, it cannot justify my belief in the existence of any human being save myself.

Many do not see the force of this argument because they erroneously imagine that other human beings are phenomena. But if we clearly realize that it is only as material objects that other human beings are phenomenal—that as conscious beings each human being is to every other an ontological fact, if he be a fact at all—if we see that the gap between one human being and another is as wide as that between the present and the past—to be crossed by thought but in no possible way by experience—we shall see that the same weakness which disqualifies the law of causation, as empiricists conceive, from taking us to an ontological external world, likewise disqualifies it from guaranteeing the existence of other people.

We go on to consider the feelings. Feeling cannot be defined. It can, perhaps, be best described as pleasurable or painful consciousness. To the question why we feel, various answers have been given, but none of them are satisfactory. Some have attempted to deduce feeling from knowledge, but though feeling depends on knowledge it is totally different from it. Nor can we see any reason why a being who knows should also feel. That lack of metaphysical imagination of which I have already spoken makes it difficult to realize this. "Is it possible," I can imagine one saying, "for any one to see himself threatened with instant death without any feeling?" Certainly, if he had no love of life; and love of life is a kind of feeling the absence of which is very easily conceivable. "But

could he see some one suffering intense agony without a feeling of pity?" Certainly, if he was destitute of all regard for the pleasure or pain of others; and does not history make that quite easy to be conceived? In brief, the idea that there is any necessary connection between feeling and knowledge is entirely due to the fact that because we cannot imagine ourselves knowing and not feeling, we think there is a necessary connection between them. But the truth is, that we can conceive of perception, thought, reflection—of all our cognitive activities—in the absence of any feeling. We know and we also feel, and that is all we can say about it.

Nor is the attempt to show that feeling is the result of a perception of the bearing of a given state on our well-being any more successful. It is, indeed, identical with the argument the fallacy of which we have just pointed out; but ignoring that, and granting for the sake of argument that pleasure is the result of the perception of the beneficial tendencies of a given state, and pain the result of the perception of the reverse, nothing is done toward showing why these perceptions give pleasure and pain. We can conceive of a being so constituted as to get pleasure only from that which is injurious and pain only from that which is beneficial. Indeed, Herbert Spencer says, that the reason why in the majority of cases beneficial actions are a source of pleasure and injurious actions of pain is, that animals differently constituted could not compete in the struggle for existence with animals who derive pleasure from beneficial actions and pain from those that injure them, and that the result is that such animals have died out and left a race of beings such as we ourselves are. So far, then, from there being a necessary connection between the perception of an action that tends to benefit us and pleasure, we are obliged to say, that, if there is any such connection, it is simply an opaque fact which we have to accept as true without being able to assign any reason for it, unless, indeed, we accept the conjectures of the evolutionist, as such. But it may fairly be doubted whether such a connection is by any means universal. A child wants candy even after it has learned by a painful experience that it is likely to make him sick; and there are few men who are not in some respects overgrown children, taking pleasure out of what they know is injurious in its tendencies.

Aristotle, and following him Hamilton, held that unimpeded energy, according to the laws of the faculty in question, is pleasurable, while the opposite is a source of pain. Said Hamilton: "A feeling of pleasure is experienced when any power is consciously exercised in a suitable manner; that is, when we are neither on the one hand conscious of any restraint upon the energy which it is disposed spontaneously to put forth, nor, on the other, conscious of any effort in it to put forth an amount of energy greater either in degree or in continuance than what it is disposed freely to exert. In other words, we feel positive pleasure in proportion as our powers are exercised, but not over exercised; we feel positive pain in proportion as they are compelled either not to operate or to operate too much. All pleasure thus arises from the free play of our faculties and capacities; all pain from their compulsory repression or compulsory activity." This theory undoubtedly explains a large class of the phenomena of pleasure and pain. A healthy man enjoys moderate exercise. A moderate and normal stimulation of the eye and ear give pleasure. A vigorous mind enjoys the acquisition of knowledge. Also a healthy man is pained both by excessive exercise and by the lack of sufficient exercise. The eye and the ear may become fatigued. The mind may become tired even of the acquisition of knowledge. But there are phenomena that obstinately refuse to be explained by the law. Why is quinine bitter? Not, surely, because of the compulsory repression or activity of the power of taste. And why does the perception of a beautiful object please us while one that is not beautiful is a source of pain? Says Sully:

> A beautiful natural object, as a noble tree, delights us by its gradations of light and color, the combination of variety with symmetry in its contour or form, the adaptation of part to part, and of the whole to its surroundings; and finally by its effect on the imagination, its suggestions of heroic persistence, of triumph over the adverse forces of winds and storms.

Now as far as our pleasure in such a case is due to the effect of the object on the imagination, it may fairly be brought under Hamilton's generalization. But as much activity may be required to perceive an absence of "gradations of light and color, the combination of variety with symmetry in its contour or form, the adaptation of part to part, and of the

whole to its surroundings," as is necessary to perceive them. In other words, activity is necessary to the perception of that which gives us pleasure, while an equal amount of activity is the condition of pain. Further, if there were no exception to the law we should still be unable to say *why* we feel. We could give no reason for the connection between pleasure and normal activity and pain and abnormal activity or abnormal inactivity. We should only be able to say that it is so, and acquiesce in it as an inexplicable fact.

We go on to consider several important classes of feelings. The first class which Professor Bowne considers is, what he calls the *ego* feelings. This class he defines as those feelings which are not elements of passive pain or pleasure, but which exist merely through their relation to our self-esteem and desire for self-assertion; those of which the *ego* is at once their subject and their object.

This relation to self is a source of a large part of the pleasures and pains that make up our emotional life. It makes the recollection of exceptional pains and hardships a source of pleasure by enabling us to feel that *we* have endured what most men have not endured. It is an important element in what is usually considered esthetic pleasure. The admiration of a beautiful painting is one thing, the admiration of ourselves because we have power to appreciate its beauty is quite another. Also the pleasure we derive from the possession of a beautiful painting, in so far as that pleasure does not spring from the thought that we have daily access to its beauty, is properly an *ego* feeling. It constitutes an element of what is usually considered an approving conscience. The admiration of a good deed, by whomsoever performed, is a purely moral pleasure; that surplus of pleasure arising from the consciousness that it is *we* who have done it, that the doing of it is a proof of our superiority, is a pure *ego* feeling.

The social feelings are the love of family, friends, country, mankind, etc. Some psychologists have attempted to deduce our social feelings from our selfish impulses. They have assumed a being with nothing but egoistic impulses, and have sought to show how he was transformed into a social and benevolent being. He seeks society in order to satisfy his desire for approbation. He becomes benevolent because he realizes

that others are necessary to him. But, unfortunately for the theory, the social feelings manifest themselves at such an early age as to make it impossible to attribute their origin to a perception of the advantages to be gained from society. And granting the ability to perceive the advantages of living in society prior to the development of the social feelings, there is no power in living in society for *such a reason* to develop the social feelings. An Iago-like simulation of social feelings for the sake of personal gain would have no power to transmute selfishness into benevolence. In truth, whoever contemplates the whole of human life with no theory to support will have no hesitation in admitting that the social impulses are as integral a part of our nature as the egoistic impulses.

The impersonal or disinterested feelings consist of three sub-classes—the esthetic feelings, the ethical feelings, and the religious feelings.

The esthetic feelings include those pleasurable feelings awakened by what is pretty, graceful, beautiful, ludicrous, witty, sublime, etc., either in nature, human beings, or works of art. The two most prominent characteristics of the esthetic feelings are their *inutility* and their *shareability*. The pleasure resulting from the perception of a beautiful object is derived solely from its beauty. As children play for the sake of play, without any ulterior end, so men admire the beautiful, and are pleased when they see the beautiful, simply because it is beautiful.

The capacity to be shared is another characteristic of the esthetic feelings. Coming, as they do, largely through the senses of sight and hearing, they may be enjoyed by a large number of people at the same time, not only without any diminution of pleasure, but with a positive increase of it through "interchanges of sympathy."

The three elements of esthetic enjoyment are what Sully calls the sensuous or material element, the perceptual or formal element, and the associative or ideal element. By the sensuous or formal element is meant colors, tones, odors, rhythmic movements, and the like, both singly and in combination. The pleasure derived from the perception of drawing, architecture, and sculpture illustrates the formal or perceptual element. The ideal or associative element includes all the pleasure arising

through the suggestions of the object. Many objects not at all pleasing in themselves give a high degree of pleasure through their suggestiveness. One who never lived in the country would hardly derive any pleasure from the croaking of a frog or the cackling of a goose; while to one who was familiar with these sounds in his boyhood they may be a source of the keenest delight. A riderless horse is not under ordinary circumstances an especially interesting object, but walking behind the hearse of a dead general it may have a high degree of pathetic beauty. A broken column in a building, to use the author's illustration, is utterly ugly; in a cemetery it may touch the deepest chords of feeling. Many objects contribute all these elements of esthetic pleasure. A fine cathedral delights the eye by the richness of its colors and its subdued light; it pleases the intellect by the symmetry and harmony of all its wealth of detail and the skill with which they are all arranged to contribute to the making of a noble building; it touches the imagination and heart by that solemn and infinite suggestiveness which makes it seem like a cross section of the great universe itself.

The object of the moral feelings is conduct of a certain kind. The perception of or reflection upon good actions pleases us, while conduct of the opposite character is a source of pain. The quality of the feeling depends to some extent on whether the action approved or disapproved has been done by us or another. We feel remorse as we think of our own bad deeds, indignation as we think of the bad deeds of another.

The most marked characteristic of ethical feeling is the sense of obligation to do what we perceive to be right, and shun what we perceive to be wrong. Both these characteristics—the feeling of obligation and the impulse to act in harmony with it—differentiate it very sharply from the esthetic feelings. We feel no obligation to cultivate a taste for the beautiful, nor does the perception of the beautiful look forward to any kind of action. The beauty of a beautiful object is an end in itself, and suggests to him who admires it nothing but the contemplation of it. And yet there is a close connection between ethical and esthetic feelings. Professor Bowne brings this out very clearly in the following passage:

The ideal commands perfection and condemns all below it. Hence many have thought that obligation might transcend ability. This, justice rejects with indignation; and yet it is the most prominent fact of moral existence that to do the best we can satisfies no one. This is due to the fact that the ideal, as such, is esthetic, and takes no account of ability, but only of perfection or imperfection. Ethics, on the other hand, while getting its law from the ideal, is forced to limit its actual requirements to the ability of the agents. This double point of view underlies some chronic disputes in ethics and theology.

As to the origin of the idea of right, the author avows his faith in an ethical development both of the individual and of the race, but maintains that this development is impossible unless the mind has an "original ethical germ or predisposition" which contains an immanent law of moral development. The great diversity of moral opinions he regards as due to the "profound interactions" between the moral and intellectual nature. Different men have different experiences of the consequences of conduct, different conceptions of tendencies, different theories of the world, and the result is different ethical codes.

Professor Bowne regards the religious sentiments as differing from the ethical in that the object of them is some supernatural being or beings, conceived as personal. Hence he first seeks to ascertain the origin of the idea of a supernatural person. He rejects the view that we have an intuitive knowledge of the existence of God, because men generally undertake to prove it. He thinks that the conception of the supernatural is the outcome of the total experience of the human mind,

not as the result of conscious inferential processes, but as the expression of its own needs and nature. As the result of some sensations, we posit a world of things; as the result of others, we posit a world of persons; as the result of our total experience, we posit God. The result is not the outcome of logical compulsion, but of a certain psychological necessity expressed in the nature of our intelligence. It is not made or deduced, but grows out of life itself. This view is the only one which clearly accounts for the universality and persistence of the idea.

But with the bare affirmation of the supernatural, the religious problem is by no means solved. The idea has next to be defined so as to meet the demands made upon it. In this work all the factors of our complex nature work together. Each faculty has its special ideal; and God is the ideal of the whole nature or the ideal of ideals. The intellect demands unity, and contributes its

ideal of perfect reason and insight. The conscience furnishes its ideal of perfect righteousness and holiness. The esthetic nature furnishes its ideal of perfect beauty and harmony. The heart furnishes its ideal of goodness and love. These are all united in the thought of God, the ideal of religion. When this is impossible there is discord in our nature, with resulting dissatisfaction. As long as any claim of heart, or conscience, or intellect is unrecognized, there can be no abiding peace. But when all the claims of our many-sided nature are united in the thought of an all-wise and holy God of love, our whole nature is at peace, and each faculty finds its claims at once recognized and assured. The intellect finds its highest support and warrant in the thought of an eternal reason at the root of things. The conscience rests secure in the thought of a throne of righteousness which can never be overturned, a Holy Will which can neither be defied nor mocked. The esthetic nature finds its full satisfaction, and the heart finds an object worthy of everlasting love.—Pp. 212, 213.

Desires are feelings arising from reflection upon the causes of our pleasures and pains, the action of which is conceived as possible in the future.

It is a much disputed question as to whether we desire the pleasure or the object which gives it; the beautiful object or the delight in beauty. The truth seems to be that we usually *think* of the object, but that its capacity to give us pleasure is the sole cause of our desire for it.

In considering volition we must be careful not to confuse it with its psychological concomitants. Because volition is generally based on a judgment, and because it often springs from desire, we must not suppose that it is either judgment or desire. They are, indeed, very different. That which we decide to be wise is by no means that which we invariably will to do; and that which we desire we do not necessarily will; since though there may be conflicting desires there cannot be conflicting volitions. "The will is the power which the soul has of controlling itself within certain limits, and the volition is an act of such control."

Professor Bowne maintains the freedom of the will against determinism on the ground, 1.) That if determinism be true, action must follow its antecedents immediately. According to determinism, the strongest desire always issues in action. There is no more possibility, according to the theory, of the prevalence of a weaker desire than there is that a balance containing a one-pound weight will sink when the other contains

two. Now just as the balance containing the heavier weight sinks, and must sink immediately, so, if determinism be true, action must follow its antecedents immediately, and hesitation, vacillation, deliberation are impossible.

2.) Professor Bowne objects to determinism, also, on the ground that the logical outcome of it is philosophical skepticism. To attain truth we must have a standard of truth, and we must be able to direct our rational activity in accordance with this standard. We must be able to restrain our believing propensities and hold our judgment in reserve in the absence of evidence. If this is not possible, one conclusion is as good as another; every thing that we believe being merely the outcome of mental mechanism.

3.) The theory does away with all moral responsibility. We have already seen that a true theory must be workable; must satisfy not only the claims of our intelligence, but also of our whole nature. Hence a theory so hopelessly antagonistic to our moral and emotional nature must be rejected.

Further, the apparent presumption in favor of determinism will not stand the test of a careful examination. The incomprehensibility of the freedom of the will is, undoubtedly, one of the strongest reasons men have for rejecting it. But does not all explanation repose on and start from the inexplicable? What reason can be given for any fact, in the last analysis, save that it is so? That the soul should have the power of choosing between conflicting desires is no more improbable on *a priori* grounds than that matter should attract matter.

But the law of causation, it is claimed, contradicts the freedom of the will. Does it in truth? According to the law of causation, every event must have a cause. Is not the mind itself the cause of its volitions? Undoubtedly when the law of causation is interpreted as identical with the uniformity of nature, freedom and causation are inconsistent, for the advocates of freedom hold that the mind is a cause which in given circumstances may produce either of two or more results, while according to the doctrine of the uniformity of nature the same antecedent or group of antecedents can have but one consequent. But there is no ground for such an interpretation of the law of causation. The freedom of the will is a fact of which most men think they are conscious. The uniformity of nature, even when we re-

strict the term nature to the external world, is by no means proved, however strongly we incline to believe it; and before we have a right to extend its meaning and make it include the phenomena of volition, the freedom of the will must be disproved on other grounds. For these reasons Professor Bowne thinks we are justified in believing in the freedom of the will. He does not regard it as "absolutely proved," but as "a necessary postulate of reason and conscience."

Consciousness is the last factor of our mental life which Professor Bowne considers. He defines consciousness as the specific feature or condition of all mental states, not as something apart from or antecedent to them, but as that element which constitutes them mental states. He rejects the identification of consciousness with knowing because of the difficulty, on that supposition, of determining the relation of consciousness to the phenomena of volition and sensibility.

Consciousness exists under the general form of the antithesis of subject and object. Those who deny it, and maintain the possibility of a purely sensitive consciousness containing no reference either to subject or object, deny that there is any subject of our mental states. But we have already seen that this denial is illogical and absurd.

A distinction is often made between consciousness and self-consciousness, but without good reason. We may, indeed, concentrate our attention upon the object or upon the subject, and to that extent there is a difference between the facts signified by the terms. In consciousness attention is centered upon the object; in self-consciousness, upon the subject. But as no concentration of attention upon the object enables us to forget that it is we who are thinking of it, so no concentration of attention upon the subject enables us to forget that we exist in a certain state, since in no other way can we make ourselves an object of thought.

But though consciousness exists under the general form of the antithesis of subject and object, we must be careful not to regard the subject and object of which we are conscious as ontological facts. The object of which we are conscious is states of consciousness; the subject in consciousness is the *ego* which has those states. Not understanding this, Hamilton argued against idealism on the ground that we are directly

conscious of the external world, although we have the same consciousness of the external world in dreams as in our waking states.

We must also be careful to distinguish between our thought or conception of ourselves, and our feeling or experience of ourselves. The former is a late product in our psychical history, the latter is present at the beginning of our conscious existence. This distinction enables us to understand why children are so slow in learning to use the personal pronoun *I*, and why some people never cease to identify the body with self; they have the *feeling*, the experience of self, but no conceptual knowledge of it. Not till the attention is concentrated upon the self as the subject of the mental life does the *feeling* of self become the conception of self.

I have thus attempted to give a brief account of Professor Bowne's answer to his first question: What are the ultimate elements of the facts and processes of the human mind? How imperfect and fragmentary my sketch is no one can be more vividly conscious than I am. But if I so far succeed in interesting my readers as to induce them to seek a knowledge of the book at first hand my purpose will be fully accomplished. I cannot better express my appreciation of it than by saying that if a man should determine to limit himself to the study of one book on psychology, I know of no book in the English language I would recommend before Professor Bowne's. I do not pretend to agree with him in all respects—did two metaphysicians ever entirely agree?—but where he seems to me to be wrong the general trend of his thought seems to me to be toward truth. And he combines lucidity of exposition, and aptness and power of illustration, with a profundity and acuteness of thought to an extent rarely equaled. The reader who is repelled by his pages may feel sure that he has no aptitude for philosophical study.

Art. III.—POLITY OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

"To perfect the system and forever prevent revolution, *power* is reserved to the *people* by amendments of their Constitution to remove every imperfection which time may lay bare, and adapt it to unforeseen contingencies." So writes Bancroft, at once an historian and a political philosopher, who beyond most of his class has come to understand and appreciate the genius of republicanism, and the fundamental principles of the ideal American polity. Applying this law to the polity of the Methodist Episcopal Church, it may be premised that no claim has ever been made that it was originally perfect, or that it has since grown into a state that admits of no emendation, although the wisdom of its founders deserves the highest praise. They fully met the demands of their times, and laid a foundation of just principles upon which they reared a system of administration which might become the regulating force in a great Church of the future, with duly guarded provisions for the introduction of such modifications or amendments as time and experience might show to be needed.

And now, after the lapse of more than a hundred years, during which the little one has become millions, it still remains the fact that its polity has not become so adjusted as to include the great body of its members in its growing forces.

The Methodist Episcopal Church is the product of a great missionary enterprise. It has been from the first conducted on the principle of a self-sustaining work. There was not, in the beginning, a great missionary society to open up new fields and nourish the feeble societies, but the pioneer Methodist preachers went "without purse or scrip." The people were in the "wilderness," but they were not destitute of some religious knowledge, and this partial and imperfect preparation made them accessible, so that immediate success was attained. The pioneer preachers must also become the shepherds for these new converts. They were hungering for the Gospel, and any system that would meet the emergency and satisfy the immediate demands of the time would, in the providence of God, become the instrumentality for good. The

Church of to-day is what it is by reason of having had such antecedents.

A very practical problem now before us is, What disposition ought we to make of our acquired forces? If it were simply a matter of wealth, it might be disposed of very easily; but we, as a Church, have become possessors of men and women. They have more than reached their majority in years; and besides, they have intelligence and piety. They have a love and a loyalty for Methodism that can be safely trusted with any interests that may legitimately fall to them. The thought will not be entertained for a moment that our ecclesiastical polity underrates the intelligence and loyalty of the individual membership of the Church. The individual and constitutional right of the governed must be an after consideration with any Church having such a history as our own. All these things come as do other gifts in the providence of God, and must be disposed of according to the disposition of human judgment and discretion. The continent of America had to be discovered first, and possession of known territory fixed, and then followed the complicated and associated rights of those who comprised the community. The few to whom power was given, without representation on the part of the people, might have prolonged their period of rule if they had adjusted themselves to the interests of the governed. Revolt and revolution brought what ought to have come by amicable processes of adjustments of laws and regulations to the changed condition of things.

The membership of our Church, until lately, have consented to be governed without class representation. Indeed, they have never demanded a change, but, like loyal subjects, they have waited and accepted gratefully whatever power or privilege has been conferred by those to whom the governing power was committed. The only radical concession ever made was the admission of lay delegation to the General Conference, which, indeed, secured a nearer approach to the people in the legislation of Church affairs; but that arrangement secured a very remote representation to the laity, and accordingly the pulsations are neither deep nor strong. It seemed at first an assurance that other changes would follow, bringing the great constituency of the Church into closer connection with those who rule; but after nearly twenty years no progress in that direc-

tion has been made. If it had been demonstrated in the agitation that the ministry were unwilling to trust the membership with the responsibilities of partnership in the government of the Church, then bitterness and distrust might have been created; but nothing of that kind appears. But there was an honest conviction with very many that the change in the form proposed might not be for the best. On the other hand, the wisdom and efficiency of those who held the reins of power were not questioned, but the environments called for a readjustment. The fundamental maxim of conservatism, "Let well enough alone," strong as the statement was to those who knew the history of the Church, was not sufficient to check the rising tide of discussion, and the trial must be made for the new order of things.

Several reasons might be assigned for the past success of Methodism. It would not be safe, neither would it be just, for us to say that any *one* thing has been sufficient of itself to account for the work already done. Three general features may be named:

1. The ministry had the best form of theology for the masses. The creed could be traced to the Bible. It had an impartial application to all men, and the wants of humanity were fully met in its provisions. These pioneer itinerants could be biblical and at the same time have a most complete assurance that they held the common sense road to the hearts of the people. These preachers battered away at Calvinism until our membership were thoroughly grounded in the Arminianism of Methodism. The field was open for discussion, and the membership was compelled to join in the contest. Other dogmas were attacked with like results. These garnered truths became the property of the whole Church, and hence we have a membership fairly well informed on all questions of Christian doctrine.

2. The Christian evidences of conversion became a stirring feature of that period. The terms conviction, repentance, faith, conversion, the new birth, summed up in the one expression, experimental religion, were emphasized by the preachers, and a revival of heart religion ensued.

3. Methodism adopted a polity for aggressive work. It must go where there was no invitation, and make a church society

out of those converted to its faith. This was the character of the movement over the whole field, and hence we see the wisdom exercised in the creation of a church government such as we have. It had a military precision in its organization. It could execute its plans. Loyalty to the appointing power by pastor and people was a cardinal virtue. And under this system of action it must be conceded the Church has done nobly. It would exhibit a great lack of wisdom and want of appreciation did we fail to recognize the value of the work done, and, of course, of the agencies by which its results have been reached.

And now a very practical work lies before us. Our successors will demand something tangible. A very nice theory, without a demonstration, will have no real value and no future. Our ancestors met the emergencies of their times, and we have entered into their labors, and reap that we sowed not. This Church of a pure faith, and a good experience, and the best polity, taking all in all, of all the denominations, should have a future worthy of its record.

Is it a thought to be entertained by the friends of the Methodist Episcopal Church that it may become completely American, and at the same time retain all its essential characteristics? This seems to be within easy reach, and need not involve any revolutionary changes. The episcopacy need not be disturbed; our connectional system of government would be solidified, and would reach a little deeper into the foundations; our doctrines would not be jeopardized, and our itinerancy would have an additional security for a continued work. The Church ought to feel that its interests are safe in the hands of its friends. It is simply asking that the unemployed energies shall be utilized and brought into a closer sympathy with the Church and its work.

Lay delegation in the General Conference was one step in the right direction, and toward the people, or the membership of the Church; but it stopped short of popular government. It is class-legislation. A selected few have the privilege to exercise the right of franchise, and the power to determine the local interests of the Society and participate also in the higher counsels of the Church. Instead of Quarterly Conference lay representation, which is all that we now have, our *membership* ought to have personal representation. An individual who

represents the interests of others ought to receive his credentials from those who are to be represented. It is a serious charge for other denominations to make against our intelligent loyal membership that they are practically disfranchised, and yet no man can repel the imputation. If our civil government, as Americans, were not so democratic as it is, and other denominations were as we are in the matter of representation, then we could more easily satisfy our people, because our record is a good one, and the interests of the governed have all along been the prominent consideration. Besides all this, our system paralyzes individual rights that come to us as Christian freemen as well as by our civil government. We may be glad to make the statement that our Methodist membership are not an office-seeking people. In many of our large towns in the West, it is frequently remarked, Methodism has no representation, or a very slight recognition, on boards of education and in other local matters, although our Church is numerically and often financially in the ascendent. It may be, some will consider that our Church polity has little influence in this direction, but it will be discovered to be a very potent factor in the every-day life of its members. A low valuation of individual rights will help to obliterate any claim in that direction, and indifference will have a like tendency.

Our Church polity carries several hundred thousand of its members—the larger portion of its adult membership, in fact—as *passengers*. Practically they are not properly members of the corporation, their voice is not heard. Their only duty is to pay their passage—do the work assigned them—and enjoy the privileges secured to them. When a church is to be built or repaired, or the pastor's salary is to be raised, they are expected to do their part, or a liberal sum is desired as a voluntary offering. Our system, in this particular, goes directly to the pocket. If our membership were as ignorant as the membership of the Roman Catholic Church, it would even then be a very questionable method. But when we consider the intelligence of our people and their loyalty to our doctrines and usages, there is no reason why their rights of copartnership should be curtailed or withheld. For an illustration of our automatic arrangement between our membership and the bishops we have only to call attention to the collection for their

support. They have had no voice in their selection, but they are expected to contribute in a very mechanical way for their support. As long as the Book Concern paid the bill there was little seeming responsibility. About all that the Church at large expected was, that the bishops should do their duty and honor their high position.

The same difficulty exists between the pastor and his membership. The Quarterly Conference fixes the salary, and then the local society is expected to meet the obligation. They have no representation in the matter—their voice has not been heard, and there is no provision in our economy by which they may speak. The only alternative is to pay, or else repudiate the claim. If the latter is chosen, then they are placed in a false and odious position.

There would be an easy way out of all this difficulty if the membership of the Quarterly Conference had their authority from the suffrages of the membership. Lay delegation in the General Conference has a line that is complete as far as the Quarterly Conference, but there it ends. The representation terminates at that point. The selection of officers and the legislation determined by the laity in the General Conference could make answer only to the Quarterly Conference.

It is hardly probable that our membership will continue to hold their individual rights by such a slight tenure. Murmurs of discontent are already heard among the more intelligent. The discontent has not taken the form of revolt, and is not likely to assume that form, but the reasonableness and justice of such a claim are being formulated for a speedy adjustment.

A distinguished jurist was asked why he did not present this claim of the unrepresented of the Church, and his reply was substantially this: "It can be discussed to better advantage by the ministry. They hold the key to the situation, and concessions will come with better grace without a demand being made by the laity. No complaints need be made against those who hold the reins of power, and there will be no occasion to call in question the intelligence and loyalty of the laity to whom larger interests may be committed," both with safety and to the advantage of the whole.

Some change will soon be made in the polity of the Church to meet this growing necessity. It is well to have all of the

light that can be gathered, so that the very best thing may be done when the final action is taken. It is not the purpose of the writer to cause unnecessary agitation, or create discontent, but to forestall the latter and stimulate an intelligent consideration of the important issues that are upon us.

The last General Conference increased the maximum number of stewards to thirteen. This was done to secure a larger number of the representative members to Quarterly Conference privileges. But why continue to enlarge upon class-privilege; why legislate to enfranchise a limited number hitherto unprovided for, and leave the great majority as they were, without a voice in the local work of the society, and no voice in the legislative counsels of the Church?

The plan for creating a mission Church by the polity of Methodism is a complete system for propagandism. It is unique, and it gives power to reach beyond present possession and occupy new territory, and it is all done in the name and with the authority of *bona fide* members. But we, by our polity, continue to recognize a very large portion of the old members as mission material. Churches have been organized for decades, and the largest part of the membership has never had a voice in the local or in the legislative affairs of the Church.

Look at the process of constituting the members of the Quarterly Conference; especially the stewards, and in many localities the trustees, of the church. These official members are appointed on the nomination of the pastor, elected to the offices named by the privileged number who, having been before so nominated, compose the Quarterly Conference. This process of reproduction and accretion is foreign to American ideas, and would be most dangerous in politics. Methodism is fortunate if it has escaped all of the dangers involved in the system.

Our practical, orthodox, and loyal membership ought to have the right of suffrage. We would be out-and-out American in our methods, and none the less effective in our work; but rather the Church of the people, in a more complete sense than ever.

The stewards, trustees, and Sunday-school board are the prominent office-bearers of our Church. To these are committed important and vital interests in the home work. These workers should be elected by those who have the work to do. If it were necessary to consider these as cabinet officers

to the pastor instead of as the servants of the people then it would be well to have the pastor make the selection, subject to the approval of the members. It is replied that the pastor can make better selections than the whole Church. That is the very question in dispute, and, more than that, the question of right is involved. There is an assumption of power without even a delegated authority, as conducted by the Quarterly Conference. Then again, it is said, there is less friction by our present method than if privileges were extended to a larger voting body. If that be the end to be gained, then our board of bishops might in secret session elect such persons as they might choose, and the excitement and friction of an election at the General Conference could be avoided. Friction is not always a misfortune, to be deprecated. Machinery must have its bearings, but these ought to be wisely chosen. We could, I presume, trust our bishops to make choice of men for the chief places—the book agents, editors, and secretaries—but we are better satisfied to leave the choice to the larger body. The latter, though not by the election of its members, still because of its numbers, more nearly represents the membership of the Church. It must furnish some degree of satisfaction to the man charged with public duties to know that he was selected by those who had the work to be done. Bishop Asbury refused to be ordained to the office of bishop until he was chosen by the vote of his brethren [but his liberalism proceeded no further].

These officers in the subordinate places of the local Church would enter on their work with a proper indorsement if elected by the membership, and an importance would be given to the positions that they do not have at present. A few persons are clothed with power to decide whether they will continue themselves in office for another year, or what others they will admit. It is, in its form and theory, a system of unlimited despotism, and is capable of great abuse. It is true that the large majority of those same persons who hold the official positions would be selected even if submitted to the choice of the larger number. If it were otherwise, another kind of friction would be produced that would prove very disastrous.

Further, these few must determine who will represent them in the Lay Electoral Conference every fourth year to choose lay delegates to the General Conference. All these powers can be

employed without a single privilege or protest on the part of the membership outside of the Quarterly Conference.

The law-making body ought to provide for these disfranchised and unrepresented adult members. The Methodist Episcopal Church would in such case become "our Church" in every locality, and the life-currents of these unemployed forces would not only find a channel to the home work but to the legislative body.

The question arises, Is there any *demand* for the engrafting of this procedure into our polity? We need it to *employ* and *interest* our membership in our own Church affairs. We do provide for them in the religious privileges, and are rewarded with active intelligent workers. Take the average Presbyterian, and he will not compare favorably with the average Methodist when it comes to prayer and testimony. He has not had the practical education. But you examine him on the polity of his Church, and the average Methodist will be put to shame in the comparison. We have educated our membership religiously, but not ecclesiastically.

There are some *conditions* that call for this change. Methodism in its formative period was the revival Church. It ought to continue its leadership in this respect. But now many other denominations are striving, with a good degree of success, to equal her in proficiency in this department of work. It is not essential to join a Methodist Church to enjoy a class-meeting, or a wide-awake prayer-meeting. We do not attract to us in these particulars as formerly. Many came to us because of the practical experience our fathers preached. Other Churches have become enriched by our converts, and now it is a very common thing to hear it said, "Why, he preaches just like a Methodist." Our distinctive Arminian doctrine has become the property of all the orthodox denominations. Our episcopacy and our settled itinerancy are not absorbed yet, but even these are held as desirable.

On the other hand, many sects claim to be the Church of the people in an organic sense, and we are put to silence in the discussion. All we can do is, to demonstrate to them that we have made a wonderful record, and have outrun them all, and that our officials seldom abuse the power given to them, although our methods are not very democratic. It puts us on our good

behavior, but it must be humiliating to the adult members to confess to a rival Church that they are dealt with as foreigners or infants. There are some indications that we are vulnerable at that point in our polity. It is true that our strength and vigor in other directions offset our defect in this, but the demand is all the more imperative that we remove every obstruction that may hinder our advancement.

It has been a matter of rejoicing that our Church has done more for fraternity than any other. We find it is easier for Methodists, when occasion demands it, to go into other orthodox bodies, and become members or ministers, than it is for others to come to us. We felicitate ourselves on that fact.

We find, also, that there is an easy transition from us that is not so complimentary. Members can go from us into other Churches and have a voice in their affairs; but one coming to us must forever learn to "keep silence," unless he is fortunately elevated to official membership.

The demand for this fundamental recognition of suffrage is more imperative with us than with any other. Our connectional polity calls for a united and operative Church from its very foundations. The hand should reach up as well as down. Those who administer the laws should be able to say, We have received them from the hands of the ministry and laity. The answer must not be made bearing a fictitious value. The intelligence of our people is such that they can discern at once whether they have participated or not in the deliberations or in the making of our ecclesiastical polity. All our environments are forcing the issue upon us. Our civil government dictates to us, with its authority of example, the individual rights of the governed. Other denominations are about us making an issue on this point.

Some have gone to the other extreme, and have lost the unity and power that should be found in Church government. These abuses can be avoided without the necessity of an experiment. They are ever before us. The extreme on the other side is no representation at all [as found in the Roman Catholic Church].

There must be a happy mean, and to that we should gladly turn. Our membership want a recognition somehow in the Quarterly Conference; sufficient to secure a "right of way," or

a title to co-operation in Church affairs. It might either be in person, or by delegates chosen by them to represent their interests. From that point concessions are already made to reach the General Conference. The three classes of officers named above, namely, stewards, trustees, and a Sunday-school board, would give a voice in every department of the home work.

The duties of the first two classes of officers are well defined in the Discipline of the Church. The Sunday-school board, as constituted, has very objectionable features. Its members come into place without a voice from the Church, save as the Quarterly Conference has given its approval of the committee appointed, and the law of the Church has given a certain number the *name* of Sunday-school board. The Sunday-school has become a very important part of Church work, and the question has been raised, "What shall we do with the Sunday-school as an institution?" The agitation has not come any too soon. In some places the whole school participate in the election of officers; others confine the right of choice to the more advanced classes, irrespective of Church membership; and others follow the law of the Church. The latter is by far the better method, yet there is the very serious charge against it that has been referred to in the constitution of the Quarterly Conference. It is not representative, and it has the power to perpetuate itself in defiance of the wishes of the membership of the Church. It is not often that the abuse of this power is felt, yet it is not wisdom to provide for the occasion. The members of the Sunday-school board ought to be elected by the membership of the Church, and they should be chosen to do a delegated work, namely, to elect officers for the Sunday-school. There could be no complaint that it lacked representation. The *Church* should be the only party authorized to speak in this matter. Whenever the Church loses the power to direct the instruction of the children, then we are adrift, and the Sunday-school, as an "institution," is in the hands of the irresponsible.

It will be readily seen what the writer would be expected to say concerning the Quarterly Conference. It ought to be for the entire membership of the local church. To this body reports of officers and its committees could be presented for approval or disapproval. In this way the business of the

Church would be before the whole body, and these delegated members would go out to do their several duties with the authority of those who sent them.

At the fourth quarter, or annual meeting, the election of stewards and Sunday-school board, and of trustees when they are not appointed under the provisions of civil law, could be held; not on the nomination of the pastor, but by the vote of legitimate members of the Church of a prescribed age.

There would, doubtless, be committees for assigned work, and these could be left to the nomination of the pastor and the approval of the annual meeting. The appointment of class-leaders and licensing of exhorters and local preachers are well provided for in the law of the Church.

Once in four years, at the fourth Quarterly Conference, there would be the election of delegates by the entire membership as representatives to the Lay Electoral Conference. The pathway from the most humble member to the highest authority of the Church would thus be complete.

The denomination that will hold our doctrines and the essential peculiarities of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and at the same time foster the confidence that should be maintained in a loyal membership, will be the Church of the future and of the masses. We should desire to have our people say in a familiar way, "This is Our Church;" not simply the local organization, but Methodism at large. We will not succeed in this until we give some practical education. The membership must be framed into the organic structure, and then they can say with some assurance and dignified fortitude, We helped to make this ecclesiastical body which we call Our Church. It is worth while to study the demands of our times, instead of relying entirely upon the wisdom and thinking of our ancestors. If they had done as many would have us do there would have been no Methodism. The coming generations will want to know whether we were worthy to be the successors of the founders of our Church, and able to meet the emergencies that were upon us.

Art. IV.—THOUGHTS ON THE ATONEMENT.

In the early Church, we are told, there was not much controversy concerning the relation of Christ's death to the salvation of the world. The great question of metaphysical and theological discussion was the Person of Christ; the atonement was neither scientifically apprehended nor developed. During the ante-Nicene age the counsel of the world's redemption was not darkened by words without knowledge. The Church rested with a sublime faith on the simple fundamental truth that the sufferings and death of Christ were essential to the forgiveness of sin. Its teaching was the undistorted reflection of the plain utterances of the New Testament. The teaching of Paul, who represents the judicial and rectoral view, and that of John, who represents the love and moral influence view of the atonement, were fairly reproduced by the writers of the second century. Then the speculative spirit fastened itself on the leaders of theological thought; a spirit that produced such theories as have made it exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, for the average mind to ascertain with tolerable exactness the teaching of the Bible concerning the necessity, nature, and benefits of the atonement.

Most certainly, the atoning work of Christ is shrouded in mystery. Its perplexities baffle the skill of the acutest intellects. It has depths that lie beyond the fathoming of the profoundest minds, heights that soar above the loftiest finite thought. The *heart* can best understand the atonement, for the reason that it is larger than the intellect. The atonement is a many-sided truth, and the heart seizes it as a *whole*, while the intellect lays hold of single points. This fact mainly explains why men possessing depth and breadth of thought have produced such distorted, repugnant, and incomplete theories of the atonement; theories that have led vast numbers to instinctively reject it altogether, or to so modify them as to eliminate therefrom the element that imparts the atoning character to the sufferings and death of Christ. It is sometimes difficult to determine which class has injured most the cause of Christ—those who have openly opposed it, or those who, by perverting and misrepresenting its foundational truths, have made it offen-

sive to enlightened reason, and repulsive to the best instincts of the human heart. One of the reasons why the world has been cursed with so many repulsive and conflicting theories of Christ's atoning work is, men have put forth herculean efforts to so interpret the Bible as to make it support their own cherished theory. They have tried to *compress* infinite thought, love, and suffering into their little, logical, theological, and philosophical propositions. This seemingly laudable, scholarly, but unwise attempt is largely responsible for many of the difficulties now connected with the atonement. Some are the results of careful, candid, deep, and comprehensive thought; others—and by far the most—are products of a cold, rationalizing literature. We should discriminate, however, between the difficulties involved in Christ's atoning work and those which are the results of speculative thought concerning that work.

Looking at the present *status* of theological thought concerning God, man, sin and its results, and redemption through Christ, we recognize two extremes: one which says that God is all love, therefore does not need to be propitiated, and that sin is simply a trifle, an imperfection, a resultant of finite conditions and powers, to be remedied by intellectual evolutionary processes, hence does not demand any blood atonement; the other maintains that sin is so exceeding sinful that its penalty—*pain for pain, death for death*—must be, and was, endured by the divine Christ, in order to make salvation from sin and its penalty possible; that is to say, Christ must pay the debt, mill for mill, that man has contracted against divine justice, and when once paid, that is the last of it. Justice has no further demands, the debt cannot be collected a second time, it is on Christ, the sinner goes forever free. Of course, the logic of this theory depends on whether Christ died for a part or for the whole of the human race. If for a part, *that part must inevitably be saved;* if for the whole, then the whole is *absolutely sure of salvation*, as all conditions are excluded; besides, justice cannot exact payment twice for one debt. The palpable and inevitable conclusion of the first is simon-pure Calvinism, and the only logical conclusion of the latter is Universalism. If, then, Christ thus died for a part of the human race, that part may exultingly exclaim, "Therefore hath he mercy

on whom he will have mercy," and *we* are the "elect according to the good pleasure of his will." But, on the other hand, if Jesus, by tasting death for every man, paid every man's debt, then *every* descendant of Adam can joyfully sing the misleading little ditty, "Jesus paid it all, paid it all for me."

But this theory, denominated the commercial theory of the atonement, is not only full of difficulties, but contains absurdities and contradictions. It makes Christ, whose life was sinless, both a debtor and sinner, as he is said to have so identified himself with those for whom he died as "to be counted as sinful," and punished for those sins; things that were psychologically and morally impossible. Now in these extreme theories are involved most of the difficulties connected with the atonement.

Let us look first at the extreme theory which tells us that God, being love, possesses no attribute that needs to be propitiated. That "God is love," in the deepest depths of his infinite nature, attributes, activities, and moral government, is a subject that challenges our admiration, profoundest thought, and affection. But does this life principle of the universe—this primal cause of all that is—this essence of the divine nature—this deepest feeling of the Infinite—exclude every principle and feeling that demands a propitiation for man's sin? How can that be? Does not the love of God express not only deep and matchless feeling for a world of lost sinners, but also the universal rectitude of his nature and character? It cements into grandest harmony all the perfections of his being. God is one. In him there can be no conflicting tendencies, movements, or claims. Justice and mercy, as they exist in God, were never at war, and never can be. God is at one with himself; and this unity of his nature and attributes is the unity of his goodness. His mercy and justice, therefore, can never move on separate lines or seek to accomplish opposite tasks. Both move and act together, and for precisely the same object. God never acts on the ground of pure sovereignty, but on the ground of righteousness. Things are not done by him as products of his arbitrary will, but of his righteous will. His love enthrones justice in the defense of truth and right. Justice and judgment are the foundations of his moral government. Justice, then, is love under another name, when acting

in the domain of retribution. Love is the "pure white light" of God's righteous character, "analyzed as it falls upon human life, throwing against the sky of our view the upper and nether rainbows of the Gospel and the Law, of rewards and punishments." It is in this love we may find the hottest fires of retribution. When man sinned love did not command justice to vacate the throne, but insisted upon a rigid and immediate enforcement of righteous law; and for the reason that a God of love—not blind sentiment, but holy love—must be a righteous God, and a righteous God must condemn and punish sin. Love must "condemn as well as approve, curse as well as bless, and make a hell as well as a heaven."

On these momentous questions we are not left to mere guessings, as we may read this twofold manifestation of love both on the pages of history and the Bible. We know absolutely nothing of God but what his works and word reveal, and these tell of justice as well as mercy, of severity as well as love. Professor Tyndall speaks of an inscrutable Power, at once terrible and beneficent, that is to be propitiated by knowledge and action—action shaped and illuminated by knowledge. Who cannot see that nature has in it more than sunshine, zephyrs, calm, beauty, and beneficence? Science, no doubt, reveals to us the workings of a beneficent law, but it also reveals terrific disintegrating, and destructive forces. John Stuart Mill says, "Nearly all the things which men are hanged or imprisoned for doing to one another are nature's every-day performances." But, of itself, nature does nothing. It is the Omnipotent Will that speaks beneficently and severely through the operations of nature. So he does in man's moral being, in the Bible, and in history. The world is full of wretched victims of physical, mental, and moral retribution; a fact that has no explanation unless there is a sternly severe element in God that he has expressed in his dealings with the human family. The God of love is also a consuming fire. He can and does create in human souls a hell as well as a heaven. Epicurus said, "The world is imperfect, presenting nothing but scenes of misery." Homer makes Jupiter exclaim, "There is nothing more wretched than man!" And a greater than these tells us, that "the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain." Nature, history, and the Bible unite in proclaiming the

existence of a severe element in the Creator, Ruler, and Redeemer of man. *And it is this severe element that constitutes an impassable barrier in the way of a sinner's forgiveness without an atonement.* It must be propitiated, or the salvation of a sinful race cannot be righteously accomplished.

What is the verdict of consciousness on this point? Joseph Cook says: "When a man has willfully violated the radiant moral law it is instinctive, if the eyes are kept open to its light, to feel that something ought to be done to bring about satisfactory relations between the rebellious spirit and the Author of that ineffably resplendent moral enactment." These words of light and strength express a deep and universal feeling—a feeling that reveals what God has implanted in man's moral nature. Consciousness of guilt, of danger, of ill-desert, of the necessity of doing something to restore the soul to its normal state and relations to God, is a resultant of God's action in the realm of conscience. From the beginning of man's sinful history he has instinctively felt moved to make some reparation to an offended God, so as to regain his lost approval. This is the ineradicable feeling that underlies all the sacrifices in pagan lands. But the pagan world has never felt satisfaction with its sacrifices. Its innate sense of justice, which lies back of its consciousness of ill-desert and the necessity for an atonement, has led it to make its costliest sacrifices, but it has not found in them permanent satisfaction and peace. The logic of this universal experience is, that there is One who is in our sinful race but not of it, who is displeased with its sins, and who will not be satisfied with mere reform or human methods of salvation, but imperatively demands an atonement that possesses infinite value.

A shallow liberalism may dogmatically affirm that because God is love he needs not to be propitiated; but God's revelation of himself, as read in the deeply rooted instincts of the race for thousands of years, stamps the affirmation as false. Those instincts confirm the plain statements of the Bible on this question. God's love is holy love; not a mere sentiment or sympathy that prompts a father to forgive his child without an atonement, but the love of a righteous Ruler who upholds righteous law and government. What a father may safely do in his private domain is one thing; what a ruler may do in his

official capacity is another and entirely different thing. A righteous ruler vindicates law and maintains government. Whatever of pity for violators of law he may possess, he punishes them because he loves truth, right, and justice. So the God of love, who is full of compassion for sinners, is "righteous in all his ways, and holy in all his works." Righteousness is the fundamental and immutable law of divine action, whether it burns a city, drowns a world, or saves a sinner. God can no more pardon a sinner unrighteously than he can drown a world unrighteously. In the fathomless depths of his infinite personality there exists eternally a sense of righteous indignation against both what the sinner *is* and *does*, and that feeling has never allowed him to forgive sin in the absence of an atonement. Such an act would be a contradiction of his nature, a trespass on his infinite sense of right. This fact may explain why Christ is represented as "*the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world.*" The atonement was no afterthought of God, no device to meet a sudden and unexpected emergency, but an essential part of the creative plan. When, therefore, Christ became incarnate to execute part of this plan, by making the forgiveness of sin possible, he was no intruder, but came to express an eternal, immutable, axiomatic truth; namely, that "without shedding of blood there is no remission of sins." In this great axiomatic truth—this eternal and immutable law of the moral universe—we have a revelation of God's moral nature; and also of man's moral nature, which is the image of the divine. Now, it is in these natures that we may find the primal and most imperative demand for an atonement. If we interpret them correctly, we may get rid of some of the difficulties connected with Christ's atoning work. We may see why that work was needed before sinful man and a holy God could be reconciled. God's love of law, truth, and right demanded it. Man's consciousness of guilt, ill-desert, and divine displeasure demanded it. Man, in all ages, has never felt prepared to go into the presence of a holy God clothed in his own merits. In him, as well as in God, there is a law of righteousness that imperatively demands an atonement. There is, then, nothing arbitrary back of Christ's atoning sufferings and death. They are the natural expression of God's love of truth and righteousness, as well as his love for a world of

sinners. Dr. Bushnell bases the necessity for the atonement exclusively on moral grounds, Dr. Miley mainly on governmental grounds. To us it seems as if these great thinkers had omitted the most important part of the foundation; namely, the palpable facts of God's and man's moral nature. The governmental necessity for the atonement is simply an expression of what was in God before he embodied it in legislative enactments and penalties. The only difference between what is in God's interior nature and his promulged laws and penalties is, that what is in him is infinite, what he has expressed is of necessity finite, as finite forms cannot fully express infinite truths. God has reserved more righteous indignation against sin, and more love for the sinner, than he has expressed in both Law and Gospel. When God puts his thought, feeling, and power into forms he necessarily acts under limitations; a fact that makes it not only difficult, but impossible, for finite beings to fully comprehend his words and works. No wonder, therefore, that the atonement has its difficulties, when we remember that it expresses infinite thought, love, hatred, and holiness! In the God-man we have the most perfect revelation of all the perfections of the nature of the Infinite, and yet, as they were expressed in finite forms, we cannot see them fully.

Socrates, who saw not the revelation of God in Christ, could not see how God could forgive sin. "Plato, Plato," he exclaimed, as he one day saw the turpitude and demerit of sin, "perhaps God can forgive deliberate sin; but I do not see how." Socrates had a glimpse of what he and the world of sinners had often felt: the necessity for a divine atonement. They felt that God could not, consistently with the law of righteousness, forgive sin without some satisfaction being made to the resplendent majesty and eternal authority of violated moral law. This is no "judicial notion imported into theology," but an essential part of righteous moral government. A pardon, simple and abstract, would belie and dishonor God, as he must maintain the rectitude of moral government—a thing that he cannot do if he forgive sin in the absence of a "blood atonement."

And now comes another difficulty. Christ's atoning work, in the estimation of some, involves an act of base injustice. We are asked what we should think of a ruler who pardoned

a great criminal, and exonerated him from punishment, on account of an innocent person's voluntarily suffering the penalty due the criminal. We might answer that no one ever heard, or ever will hear, of such a case. "For scarcely for a *righteous* man will one die;" but for a *criminal*, who ever heard of a sane innocent person offering voluntarily to die? No righteous ruler ever compelled an innocent subject to die for the guilty. Certainly God never did. Whatever the great Atoner did he did of his *own free will.* He had power to lay down his life; no man could take it from him. His atoning sufferings and death were voluntary. "But"—and here is what some regard as an insuperable difficulty—"why was it necessary that a spotless and sinless being should suffer and die for a sinful world?" The answer is, Because in no other way could the sinful world be saved. If Christ had not been both divine and human, and sinless, his sufferings and death could not have been substituted for the guilty. The guilty cannot atone for the guilty. But is it not manifest injustice to inflict the penalty due to the guilty on a sinless Victim, even if the Victim is willing? Most assuredly it is, but it cannot be called injustice for one being to suffer in behalf of or instead of another.

At this point correct statement and discrimination are needed. Joseph Cook says: "The ghastliest of all misconceptions is the assertion that the doctrine of the atonement implies, first, that an innocent being is made guilty in the sense of being personally blameworthy; and, secondly, that an innocent being is *punished* in the sense of suffering pain for ill-desert." Yet a distinguished writer, some years ago, wrote in our *Quarterly Review* that "Christ was counted as sinful and punished for us." But Christ never sinned, therefore could not, in the very nature of the case, ever become conscious of guilt or ill-desert. Having never sinned, how could he be "counted as sinful, and punished for us?" Is not this a gross distortion of the teaching of the Bible on this foundational truth of Christianity? And is it not as horrible as it is unphilosophical? Personal guilt and ill-desert cannot be transferred from one individual to another. Like consciousness of guilt, they are not transferable. The acute and logical Martineau rejected the idea of vicarious atonement, because the statements of its distinguished advo-

cates involved the difficult and absurd idea of the sinless Christ suffering for sinners the *penalty* of pain and death, as if he were adjudged a sinner. Martineau did not learn this abhorrent idea from the Bible, but from the conclusions of theorists, which they based on parabolic, figurative, and isolated portions of the Bible. The debtor in the parable given by Christ must suffer unless some one pays his debts; but this is a very crude illustration of the doctrine of the atonement, and becomes perilously untrue and unscriptural when its details are literally interpreted. Christ intended to show simply *how* God forgives sin; that is, he *freely* forgives the sinner, as he is an absolute moral pauper. But, we might ask, what is there to forgive, if the whole of the debt is paid by Christ? Right here is found a difficulty. If Joseph owes his brother Benjamin one thousand dollars, and he being so poor that he cannot pay one cent of the debt the generosity of his brother Reuben is so excited that he pays the whole debt for him, where can Benjamin's forgiveness of the debt come in? Justice says, He needs no forgiveness. It would, therefore, be absurd for Joseph to pray, "Brother Benjamin, forgive my debt." And it would be equally absurd for Benjamin to respond, "In view of the fact that brother Reuben has paid the whole of your debt, I freely forgive you." So we affirm that if Christ literally paid sinful man's debt against divine justice, "tooth for tooth," pain for pain, death for death, there can be nothing left that requires forgiveness.

The debt conception of sin and the atonement, if taught in the Bible, is manifestly a figure designed to represent a deeper truth. And yet this is the conception that pervades Joseph Cook's illustration of Bronson Alcott's school, which is intended to relieve the atonement of the difficulty in question. The great lecturer says, that the master of the Concord school made it a rule "that the pupil who violated its regulations should inflict chastisement on the master as a substitute for his own punishment, in order to maintain the authority of the school." Of course, the chastisement was voluntarily accepted and endured, and the unique method of sustaining the majesty of the law and maintaining governmental authority was crowned with success. It also showed that bad human hearts can be changed and rebellious wills subdued by

others submitting voluntarily to suffer chastisement for *their* deserved punishment. It removed, too, the liability of the pupil to be punished by the master, as the master paid the pupil's debt by substituting for his punishment his own chastisement. But is this Concord school example of substitutional suffering an apposite illustration of the vicarious sufferings of Christ for sinful man? We think not. In the first place, *love* for sinful man is the originating power that lies back of all that Christ said and did for him; secondly, it was the Father, not the sinner, who inflicted stroke for stroke, that most bruised and chastised his son. "It pleased the LORD to bruise him." Bronson Alcott received from the offending pupil the same kind and number of strokes that should have been inflicted on the pupil had it been the principle of the school to punish evil doers. This was not true with regard to Christ, as it was impossible for him to suffer the same kind and measure of punishment due the sinner. Then, in the last place, a pupil with a refined and sensitive nature would suffer much more mentally than his substitute could suffer physically, which was not the case with Christ and sinners. As Mr. Alcott puts it, "One of the boys shed tears and passed through a struggle such as made him seem to be in a baptism of fire." Then what that boy suffered in after years no one can tell. A consciousness of what he did to that master would not give him much peace. How different the result of Christ's atoning work! His substitutional sufferings, being an expression of his holy love, give peace and joy and hope to believing sinners. If these friendly criticisms are correct, the Concord school-master's substitutional sufferings do not throw much light on this difficult phase of the atonement. Nor do we see how any example can, as Christ's atoning work is unique. It has never had, and never can have, in its most essential facts, an exact parallel. The Locrian king who, to maintain governmental authority, caused one of his own eyes to be put out to save one of the condemned eyes of his guilty son, is a striking, and in some respects a pertinent, illustration; but as it represents the "tooth for tooth and eye for eye" theory, it fails in the most essential point.

It fails to illustrate how a truthful, righteous God, after having annexed a certain—and we may add enforced—penalty to violated moral law, can consistently accept as a substitute for

that penalty the sufferings of the sinless Christ. At this point we find the main difficulty. We do know that God has thus accepted the sufferings of Christ, therefore it must be wise and right; but just *how* he can thus release man from a natural and deserved penalty and restore him to life, purity, honor, and immortality, is a difficulty we cannot explain. Not that we have any objection to a divine incarnation, suffering, and death; we have not. And for this reason the great law of sacrifice is the universal and immutable law of the universe. Parents, patriots, and philanthropists suffer vicariously, and often die for others. Life lives on death, therefore Christ's voluntary sacrifice of himself for a guilty race is but the grand culmination of this principle, the divinest expression of an all-pervading, dominant law in the realms of life. As finite forms of life are under the law of sacrifice, we see no valid reason why infinite life, prompted by infinite love, and for highest purposes of law and government, as well as to make possible the salvation of a race of lost, responsible, immortal beings, should not surrender himself to his own law of sacrifice. This he has done. "The life was manifested" in the infinite Christ. He expressed the eternal Father's infinite thought, love, and righteousness by a life of vicarious work and suffering.

Notice, Christ's work, suffering, and death in no sense *changed* God's thoughts and feelings toward sin and sinners; but they *did* satisfy God, satisfy himself, and satisfy man. They satisfied the sense of justice inherent in the divine and human conscience. As soon as Christ had, by his atoning life and death, fulfilled and honored the law, and established righteousness on a firm foundation, the atonement was made and the sense of justice in God and man was satisfied. God accepted Christ's atoning suffering and death as a *substitute for the enduring of the death penalty by guilty, hell-deserving sinners. Why* he has done this is not revealed; and *how* they constitute, in his estimation, a sufficient atonement for the sins of the world is still among the "secret things that belong" not to us. If we will but discriminate between *suffering vicariously* and being *punished penally* we shall obviate a great difficulty in our discussions of the atonement, as an innocent being cannot justly be punished for the guilty, but there is no principle of justice that forbids the innocent voluntarily suffer-

ing to save the guilty. Men do this as the highest expression of their love for their friends, or to maintain the life and unity of their nation. By what law, then, shall God be excluded from such an expression of his love? Men may sneer and be captious, and ridicule the atonement as betraying on the divine side a thirst for blood, but the reverent and devout mind will see in the agony and bloody sweat of Gethsemane, and the sufferings and death of the cross, resultants of an eternal Father's love for sinners, truth, and righteousness.

In the atonement we may behold the eternal Father and Son struggling, not to harmonize conflicting attributes, but to save man from the grasp of violated law and insulted justice; a work that could not be done without suffering and death. *Could* not, we affirm, as infinite love of right was as inexorable as infinite justice. Love for sinners cannot act apart from love of right and justice. They dwell and act together in the most perfect harmony. Love can do nothing until law is honored and righteousness is lifted into supremacy. Infinite love, therefore, gladly satisfied itself and justice by suffering, dying, and rising again to save sinners. This vicarious work of infinite love is in perfect harmony with justice, and instead of involving cruelty, it is the sublimest possible expression of divine benevolence. The atonement, then, is the grandest embodiment and satisfaction of both love and justice.

What is needed to lead men to see that the atonement is the grand, central, life-and peace-giving truth of Christianity, is a candid, careful grouping of all the facts it involves; then an honest, prayerful effort to find out their meaning by comparing fact with fact; then submission to the fixed conditions on which its benefits can be realized. If its opposers would wisely do those things they would soon find out that this doctrine is no priestly invention or "butcher theory," designed to meet an unlooked-for contingency in the historic development of humanity, but an essential factor in the creative plan. And a clear vision of this fundamental truth would reveal to them that Christ was no forced victim of his Father's wrath; that he came not into our race to fulfill a bargain that he made with his Father, to pay his life as a ransom price for a few elect ones, but to manifest his Father's love, purpose, and righteousness, which he had revealed in man's moral nature, history, and

the Bible. He could say in the garden of Gethsemane and on the cross, "I am showing the Father's unutterable love for lost sinners; the consuming fire of his wrath against sin; and his righteousness, because of the passing over of the sins done aforetime in the forbearance of God." Here are deep, grand, and awfully sublime revelations! Nature trembles in their presence, the sun is darkened, the gates of death are violently opened, and the smiles of the eternal Father are withdrawn from the Son of his love. The Christ suffers alone, of the people none are with him! What mean those unique sufferings and death? There is but one explanation: "It pleased the Father to bruise him," by putting on him, because of his voluntary assumption of the position of the sinner's substitute, the penalty due to the iniquity of the world. The sword of his Father's wrath against sin pierced his soul, and caused him to feel as if he were forsaken by him. Of course, the forsaking of Christ in those last hours of fearful agony by his Father was only apparent, not real. Such a thing was impossible, as he and the Father were indissolubly one; but so dense was the dark cloud of suffering that rested on and penetrated his soul that he realized no sensible tokens of his Father's love. Never was the Father so near to his Son as in that last fearful agony, but his love could not write itself on a consciousness that was enduring a baptism of fire; and thus voluntarily tasting death, he drank the cup given him by his Father to its very dregs, and while doing it he had the sympathy, love, and support of his eternal Father.

Most assuredly, an atonement that is a resultant of such agony and blood has its difficulties—*must* have its difficulties—but they are difficulties shrouded in love. "Herein was the love of God manifested, that God hath sent his only begotten Son into the world, that we might live through him." His love expressed itself in divine suffering and blood, hence it represents an atonement of infinite value; one that satisfies both God and man. Bad men and shallow men may call it a "blood theology"—never mind; it saves souls from sin, death, and hell, and in doing this necessary and divine work it demonstrates to the thought and Christian consciousness of the world that it rests upon impregnable foundations.

Art. V.—BISHOP McKENDREE—A SKETCH.*

William McKendree was a Virginian, and was born in King William County, 1757. He came from the best circle of Virginia planters. His parents were in easy worldly circumstances, though plain and industrious people. They were members of the Church of England, and brought up their children carefully in the tenets of the Church. In common with many others of the same class of people, they joined the Methodist Society on its first establishment in Virginia.

While McKendree was a child Whitefield visited the city of Williamsburg, near which his father lived, and there is little doubt that it was owing to his earnest ministry that Mr. John McKendree, father of the bishop, in after time joined the Methodists. William was a boy of seventeen when Mr. Shadford and Robert Williams visited the section of country in which he lived. He joined the Society, but by his fondness for gayety was led back to the world. He took part in the Revolution, and was an adjutant in a Virginia regiment. The war ended, and he returned to his home. Here he led the easy life of a country gentleman. He was very moral, free from all gross vices, and, while irreligious, was not at all skeptical.

John Easter was at that time a flaming evangelist, and came through the country in which McKendree lived. McKendree was at the house of a friend, drinking wine and reading a comedy. The wife of his host and companion went to hear Easter preach. McKendree heard from her the story of Easter's wonderful power. He went to hear him himself, and was profoundly awakened and deeply convicted, and after a little while soundly converted. He writes:

> Not long after I had confidence in my acceptance with God, Mr. Gibson preached us a sermon on sanctification, and I felt its

* *William McKendree, the First American Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church.* By George G. Smith, of the Georgia Conference.

Paine's *Life of McKendree.*

Stevens's *History of Methodism.*

Bangs's *History of the Methodist Episcopal Church.*

Redford's *Methodism in Kentucky.*

Life of James O. Andrew, etc.

McTyeire's *History of Methodism.*

weight. When Mr. Easter came he enforced the same doctrine. This led me more minutely to examine the emotions of my heart. I found remaining corruption, embraced the doctrine of sanctification, and diligently sought the blessing it holds forth. In its pursuit my soul grew in grace, and in the faith that overcomes the world; but there was an aching void which made me cry,

> "'Tis worse than death my God to love,
> And not my God alone."

One morning I walked into the field, and while I was musing, such an overwhelming power of the Divine Being overshadowed me as I had never experienced before. Unable to stand, I sank to the ground, more than filled with transport: my cup ran over, and I shouted aloud. Had it not been for a new set of painful exercises which now came over me I might have rejoiced evermore; but my heart was enlarged, and I saw more clearly than ever before the danger of an unconverted state.

This is as definitely as he ever professed the blessing of sanctification.

He now began to work to save souls, and Mr. Asbury sent him, in 1788, to a circuit. For four years he traveled circuits in Virginia, and considerable success attended his labors. He was closely associated with James O'Kelly, and sympathized with him in his opposition to an unrestrained episcopate; and when O'Kelly failed to secure the right of appeal for a dissatisfied preacher, and withdrew from the Church, McKendree went with him. After a very short time he became satisfied that he was wrong, and returned to the Connection. He was an older man than most of his compeers, and perhaps a more judicious one, and Asbury soon fixed upon him as an assistant Bishop, and he was made presiding elder of a very large district in Virginia. He was there when the mind of Francis Poythress gave way. Asbury, while on his way to Kentucky, heard Poythress was deranged. He said to McKendree: "William, I want you to take charge of the Western District." "When do you wish me to start?" "As soon as you can." "In an hour, sir, I will be with you." In less than an hour the bishop and the young elder were on their way to the far West.

The boundaries of the Western District in 1800 were immense. From the west of North Carolina they extended to the center of Ohio, and from the Blue Ridge Mountains in south-west Virginia to the Mississippi River. To make the

tour McKendree began his journey near Asheville, N. C., went eastward and northward, till he crossed the mountains into Tazewell, Virginia; then west, through Cumberland Gap; thence to Nashville and beyond; then up Salt River, through the blue-grass counties of Kentucky, to the Miami, in Ohio. The district was cut down every year, but the advance of the lines of settlement made it necessary to extend the lines still farther west; so that in 1807, when McKendree left the district, it included, in addition to Kentucky and Ohio, Illinois and Missouri. When it is remembered that much of this country was but twenty years old—that the settlements were remote from each other and separated by rugged mountains or trackless prairies—we can gather an idea of McKendree's heroic labors. He had also other difficulties of a very perplexing nature to encounter, coming from another direction.

The great awakening which began at a union meeting in the Barrens of Kentucky in 1799, out of which camp-meetings sprang, was just beginning when McKendree reached the West. It swept with wonderful power. There was a breaking away from all the old traditions. Presbyterians preached a present, full, and free salvation for all men; Baptists joined with Methodists; camp meetings were every-where; all kinds of lay work was encouraged, and there was no restraint imposed. There was prodigious excitement. The jerks, the dancing exercise, the barking exercise, the trance, the heavenly vision —every thing that was wild and extravagant was found, and by many encouraged. Zion's ship was in dangerous seas, but McKendree was eminently fitted for the work of steering it safely. He did not, like the Old School Presbyterians, denounce all emotion and excitement; he did not, like many, give free rein to it. He quietly, calmly, firmly, controlled it, as far as he could safely do so; and while from the Presbyterian element the Cumberland Presbyterian Church was formed—while the disaffected Baptists went, after some years, to Alexander Campbell—while Quakers and Unitarians reaped their harvest—McKendree's counsels saved Methodism. The critical condition of things in the far West had kept him at the wheel, and two sessions of the General Conference, as the General Convention was called, had been held, and he had been at neither. He resolved now to go to Baltimore. At this Con-

ference, 1808, it was in design to provide for the assembling of a delegated General Conference, and to elect a bishop who should relieve Asbury of some part of his onerous labors.

McKendree was comparatively a stranger to the Conference, and had not been mentioned in connection with the office. On the Sunday before the election he was appointed to preach in old Light Street Church. The house was crowded. The preachers were many of them present. McKendree had liberty, and the result of that sermon was a determination of his hearers to elect him bishop. This the Conference did the next day. McKendree was one of the committee who suggested the restrictive rules, and his knowledge of what the General Convention intended when it provided for a General Conference of delegates stood him in good place in after time.

As soon as McKendree began to preside over the Conferences he made some very decided and important changes. He introduced the custom of consultation with the presiding elders in a body before the appointments were made. He introduced the plan of conducting Conferences by parliamentary usage. Asbury did not like these innovations. He could not see that Methodism wanted any thing but more holiness and more simplicity. It required some delicate tact on McKendree's part to reconcile Asbury to these changes.

McKendree did not desire to be bishop, but without voice of his own he had been called to the office in a most important and difficult time. Asbury was old and feeble. He had been virtually the sole superintendent. The work now reached from Maine to the Mississippi and beyond, and from the St. Lawrence to the Gulf. McKendree was over fifty years old, and, while a vigorous man, the immense labors of the years before had told upon him. Over all the area he was to travel on horseback or in a chaise. He did the work as faithfully as he could, and, giving up his life to labor for the Church, conscious that his eye was single, he looked with distrust upon that growing party of the Church who seemed anxious to limit episcopal power. This it proposed to do by the election of presiding elders. McKendree's great opposition, and that of Asbury, was overcome after George and Roberts, who had been elected bishops in 1816, favored the change; and in 1820 the General Conference decided on the long-sought provision. McKen-

dree and Soule and Roszell held that this was an act beyond its power; that it was expressly restricted from doing this and kindred things, and that until the Annual Conferences had spoken on this subject the law could not be operative. A conflict between the bishops and the General Conference seemed unavoidable, but the General Conference decided to defer the execution of the law for four years, and thus the issue was not made. At the General Conference of 1824 McKendree was given permission to travel at will, or rest, as he thought best, but he continued his untiring labors. In 1824 the General Conference left the act of four years before in a state of suspension, and in 1828 it was quietly repealed. Bishop McKendree was now quite feeble, and the remaining six years of his life were years of great suffering. In 1832 he made his last visit to the East. Young Robert Paine, afterward bishop in the Church, South, accompanied him, and with great difficulty the long weary tour over the mountains in a private carriage was made to Philadelphia, where the General Conference assembled. He could barely walk, but leaning on his staff he tottered into the Conference room. The preachers rose to receive him. He said with a voice faltering with emotion, "Let all things be done without strife or vainglory, and try to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bonds of peace; my brethren and children, love one another." Then, spreading forth his trembling hands and raising his eyes to heaven, he pronounced in faltering and affectionate accents the apostolic benediction, and left the room to return to it no more.

For the remaining two years of his life the good old bishop labored as he was able. He was seventy-five years old when he bade farewell to the General Conference, and seventy-seven when he died.

He had never married. From the day he began his ministry he had never shrunk from a hardship nor shunned a danger. Perhaps no man in Methodism, for so long a time, ever had so many and such continuous privations. Until he was made a bishop he was always on a frontier; afterward he knew no repose. Asbury, sick and feeble, sometimes groaned under his burden, but McKendree bore his without a word.

He was a man of strong will, and could strike a hard blow, but he was never harsh or irritable. When sick and weary he

was simply taciturn. He was a man of remarkably fine presence. His features were regular and handsome, his brow as broad and smooth and white as marble. Dignity and gentleness were strikingly evident in his manner. He dressed with great neatness, in the old-time garb of a Methodist preacher.

He was a preacher of great power, but this arose from no one striking quality. He was earnest, scriptural, and full of unction. As a Church statesman, he stood high among his compeers. He was more conservative than his old Virginia associate, Jesse Lee, and more jealous of any interference with episcopal authority; but he was more moderate in his views of what that power should be than was Wesley, or Coke, or Asbury. He was eminently judicious in his administration. His piety was very fervent, but evidently in his later life it was very calm and quiet.

McKendree is, next to Asbury, the most important factor in early Methodist history, and as far as the government of the Church is concerned holds a more important place than even he. The rule which guided his life he gave to Bishop Andrew, who had just been elected bishop. "James," he said, "shrink from no responsibility which properly belongs to you; remember that he who shrinks from a responsibility properly his own, incurs the most fearful of responsibilities."

Art. VI.—THE SIGNS OF THE TIMES.

In the last sentence of the third verse of the sixteenth chapter of his gospel as recorded by Matthew, our Lord Jesus Christ couches one of the most wide-reaching and important thoughts that perhaps he ever uttered to man: "Ye can discern the face of the sky; but can ye not discern the signs of the times?"

The persons to whom these words were originally addressed were a very fair type of myriads upon myriads of the human family of to-day. They would accept very flimsy evidence upon which to base an assurance of results which they strongly desired to foresee, and which they wished should occur. Many wise and learned ones can weigh the planets and measure their distances from the glittering center of the vast solar system;

but to many of these learned ones the story of the "Star of Bethlehem," the "bright and morning star," is a mystery or a myth. They can trace the paths of the stars and indicate the changes of the weather from the hues of a few flitting clouds; but they cannot discern "the signs of the times." The theme that is couched under this short sentence from our blessed Saviour's lips, based, as it is, upon the greatest event connected with man's history since the fall, ought to be to every intelligent human being a most fruitful, highly elevating, instructive, and intensely interesting thought. As it refers directly to our Lord Jesus Christ in his relation of divine humanity, it is richly fraught with temporal and eternal interests for the human family from the fall to the general judgment. There certainly can be no theme of more real, deep, and abiding interest presented for man's contemplation than that which gives forth such statements as these: "So God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him; male and female created he them." "What is man, that thou art mindful of him? and the son of man, that thou visitest him? For thou hast made him a little lower than the angels, and hast crowned him with glory and honor." Again: "For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given: and the government shall be upon his shoulder, and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counselor, The mighty God, The everlasting Father, The Prince of Peace." Once more from the Old Testament upon this point: "Therefore the Lord himself shall give you a sign; Behold, a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel." But how is this wonderful chain of relationship taken up in the New Testament? Let us see: "The book of the generation of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham." Again: "And the angel said unto them, Fear not: for, behold, I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people. For unto you is born this day in the city of David a Saviour, which is Christ the Lord."

These are a few of the many passages from Holy Writ which set forth most clearly the divinely originated and very intimate relationship subsisting between God and man. This relationship is the basal rock upon which the theme presented by the title of this article was laid by its divine Author. This great fact of divine relationship the unbelieving Jews refused to

recognize in the person of the humble prophet of Nazareth. The very existence of this fact unbelievers of many nations are laboring to-day to disprove, and are practically blind to all the signs of the times that have been in the past, and that are to-day in all lands, calling alike the attention of the skeptic and the careless one; and though also challenging the attention and application of Christian thought and faith, are often passed by without awaking in his mind a single idea of their true import. We are led, therefore, to the apprehension that possibly some are even committing a fatal error by giving no thought or time to the careful study of this wonderful theme.

The implication that was to be drawn from the language of the Master on that occasion was, that the signs of the times were, that the promised Messiah of the patriarchs, of Moses and the prophets, was then already come, and that he who was at that moment in conversation with them was indeed that "anointed One;" and he even rebuked them for their unwonted ignorance. For multiplied ages the world had been looking for and expecting his coming. The hoary nations of the Orient were in some way conscious that the great and mysterious *I Am* had planned a visit and manifestation of himself to the human world, in some peculiar character of man that had not hitherto been witnessed. It is not for us to know to-day certainly by what means the magi on Iran's plateau, a thousand miles away from Bethlehem, were enabled to discern the sign presented to them, and know thereby that he was born who was to be King of the Jews. Nor by what means, about sixty years after, the followers of Confucius were so strongly impressed with the fact of his *having* come, as the "Great Saint in the West," that they "sent their envoys to hail the expected Redeemer."

But it *is* for us to know something, not only of the time and signs of his coming, but especially to discern the signs of the times in which we are living, setting forth the one supreme fact that we are living in the midst of the age of man's transforming period, in which the great "Prophet of Nazareth" is gradually gathering the nations of the earth under the banner of the cross. Let us therefore, in the further investigation of this subject, examine as we may some of these tokens, and apply them for our own information and profit.

There are some passages of Scripture that, to say the very least, *seem* wholly unexplainable when considered independently of the New Testament dispensation. For example, to begin with Psalm ii, 8, 9: "Ask of me, and I will give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession. Thou shalt break them with a rod of iron; thou shalt dash them in pieces like a potter's vessel." Possibly there has never been a period when this prophetic history has been in process of more rapid fulfillment than the present. We venture the suggestion, that it is highly probable that a vast deal of that which we are wont to look upon in the social and political world to-day as among the great evils—and even though in themselves considered, in an abstract sense, they *are* great evils—may nevertheless be more properly classed among the signs of the times pointing to the one great fact that there is a mysteriously divine Force, like a hidden leaven, operating through all the great political and social regime of the human world, and the ultimate meaning of which is as far from being properly construed by the masses of the people as were the life and works of our Lord Jesus Christ when he dwelt among men in the flesh. God is working through human agencies, and he uses them often as he finds them.

Another passage that seems clearly to present God's hand in history, even though men should be writing it in blood, may be quoted from Isaiah concerning Cyrus: "Thus saith the Lord to his anointed, to Cyrus, whose right hand I have holden, to subdue nations before him; . . . I have surnamed thee, though thou hast not known me." In this connection we should bear in mind the fact that these words, uttered concerning a pagan monarch and soldier, were recorded probably two hundred years before the birth of Cyrus. The depravity of the human heart is so deep, and of such long standing in supremacy, that to bring about God's ends in man in any other way than by the slow processes of human revolutions would be to utterly destroy that freedom of the human will with which we were endowed when we were made free moral agents.

If, by a proper conception of the fact of God's agencies in man working through man as he finds him, we apply the teachings of Christ in the use of such language as the following, we may more readily understand him when he speaks thus:

"Think not that I am come to send peace on earth: I am not come to send peace, but a sword. For I am come to set a man at variance against his father, and the daughter against her mother, and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law."

With this view of the position and relation that God, who was manifest in the flesh, sustains to the plans and operations of them which man projects, we may proceed with some tolerable degree of intelligence to inquire, What are the signs of the times in which we live, and what do they indicate? We assume, from Matt. xvi, 1–4, that the signs of the times there referred to, and in which we are most profoundly interested, refer to the relations of Christ in his true character as the God-man; as that character, as laid down in the Old and New Testaments, sustains to the whole human race. If we study carefully such additional passages of Scripture as seem confirmatory of those already cited, our position is strengthened by such passages as Rom. xiii, 1–4 and 1 Tim. ii, 2, showing conclusively that these relations touch very definitely the political connections of the race. Then turning to Matt. v, 42 and vi, 1–5, 12, we find the fact very clearly demonstrated that this connection touches strongly upon our social and commercial relations. For its bearing upon our domestic relations see Matt. v, 27, 28, also 31, 32; chap. xix, 3–6; Rom. vii, 2; 1 Cor. vii, 3. Other passages might be adduced, but for the sake of space we forbear. Of course, it would be worse than a *waste* of these to attempt to illustrate the already admitted demonstration of this relation to man's spiritual well-being. With this broad platform, then, upon which to place ourselves, we may properly proceed with what we may justly pray may prove a profitable investigation. Of course the passages referred to above, upon each point, are not a tithe of what might be cited, but are considered sufficient for the purpose. With reference to the first point referred to, namely, the politics of the nations, we have no doubt that man's infidelity upon this subject has been a fruitful source of great national troubles that might often have been either wholly avoided or greatly minified. The legislation by which many vices and crimes against God and humanity have been legalized has, on more than one occasion, proved a Cleopatra's viper upon the sin-

darkened bosom of national governments, whose poison-pointed fangs have sent the chill of death coursing through the life-currents of the nations. The rifled tombs of the hoary empires of the East bear unequivocal testimony to this fact. Four millions of human beings suddenly released from a servile bondage, and turned loose upon the nation of their former masters, whose crime had caused the shedding of rivers of Anglo-Saxon blood, furnish a demonstration of the truth of the point under consideration that the American people will not soon forget. Well, indeed, would it be for the nations of the earth if, by the signs of the times constantly spreading out before them, they could discern the hand of God in history. The voice of oppressed humanity is calling upon God, and the ear that is open to "the young ravens when they cry," is never closed against the voice of the oppressed. "I tell you he will avenge them speedily." Man may boast of the wisdom of this or that plan, or the good or bad policy of this or that movement, but God, who sees not as man sees, will work out vengeance upon the oppressor sooner or later.

The granite foundations of the throne of the British empire, upon whose vast domain "the sun never sets," are trembling to-day, and it may be to a more speedy overthrow, notwithstanding the exalted character of its present noble occupant, than its most sanguine foes anticipate. Forcing at the point of her bayonets the accursed opium-trade upon a broad, populous nation of intelligent pagans—flooding the benighted and down-trodden tribes of Africa with fiery gin, because she needs the revenue of these channels of commerce and has the military power to enforce them—are classes of political crime that God Almighty will not always wink at. It is not *utterly improbable* that the wail of homeless mothers and the cries of outcast children echoing among the tenantless cabins of old Erin are heard at the Court of the Universe. The low, hoarse rumblings, that by British ears are perhaps but faintly heard along the horizon of the political sky of their wide domain, *may* be the sound of the marshaling of God's unseen host, hastening to avenge.

The fact that the religious faith of a people may be largely papal, or even pagan, furnishes no ground for civilized and refined oppression. Legalized oppression, either by state or

nation, God Almighty will avenge. Coffers of gold wrung out of human blood will sink the government that retains them. Again, there is a religious attachment to the political phase of this great question that we may not with propriety overlook. Jesus Christ was himself the mighty "Rock of Ages" upon which the old State Church system that had emanated from the older system of patriarchal family churches was destined to go to pieces.

That this position is the true one may be affirmed from Christ's own teachings, a few examples of which will be adduced as illustrations: "Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me; for I am meek and lowly in heart: and ye shall find rest unto your souls. For my yoke is easy, and my burden is light." Again: "If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me. . . . And whosoever will lose his life for my sake shall find it." Again: "For where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them." One more: "In the last day, that great day of the feast, Jesus stood and cried, saying, If any man thirst let him come unto me and drink."

These may serve as illustrations of the fact that the Church of the Lord Jesus Christ is to be a voluntary assembly. A purely voluntary following did he require as a condition of citizenship in his kingdom. Hence we find that through all the ages of the Church's history corruption of morals and deadness of spirituality have invariably followed in the wake of State-Churchism. The seeds of moral decay and spiritual death were thickly strewn even before the great Constantine had been carried to his tomb. From the throne of the Roman pontiffs flowed, for a thousand years, through the veins and arteries of the universal Church, a moral blood-poison that so tainted with moral and spiritual decline every part of the great system that the Lord of the whole earth found it necessary every now and then to raise up some such man as Wycliffe, Huss, Calvin, Knox, and Luther, to meet, and in some measure counteract, these poisonous and deadly influences. These were stern, heroic men of God, like the Elijahs, Elishas, Johns, and the apostolic Fathers of the olden time. They

aroused men to a sense of their own moral ruin, and, like those old men of God, they also brought upon themselves strong persecution. The very fact that in the midst of deadly persecution, God, with perhaps one exception, preserved the lives of these great reformers and devoted leaders of his cause, was a demonstration that his hand was with them, and a sign of the times in which they lived that their enemies, to their own hurt, failed to discern.

So, in later times, God found it necessary, in order to the preservation of his cause, from time to time to work purifications in the Church through the various agencies of what were termed dissenters; though these were often called to endure persecutions most severe, and, in turn, themselves sometimes persecuted others. New Testament Phariseeism and modern State-Churchism, when critically compared, seem to be very near of kin. Out of the influence of the former, largely grew the dreadful scenes and agonies of Pilate's court and Calvary's brow; out of the influence and exertions of the latter have emanated many of the destructive wars that have from time to time deluged much of our world with human blood. Some further illustrations of these two points are found in the final overthrow of the Jewish nation and capital, followed by the Crusades, the Thirty Years' War, and the Huguenot wars of France. The surging billows of to-day, moral and political, not to say religious, are stirring, and will continue to stir, the nations of the earth to their core. The commotions that in this jubilee year are shaking the very throne of the "Empress of the Indies;" the deep volcanic rumblings that are sullenly muttering beneath the very footsteps of the arrogant "Autocrat of all the Russias;" the dark war-clouds that are constantly hovering along the banks of the majestic Rhine and its beautiful tributaries, are signs of the times that are not to be lightly passed unheeded. The blood of "righteous Abel" from his gory couch never appealed to God for vengeance in more audible accents than do the deep-toned wailings of the deeply wronged and oppressed millions of that "Old World," writhing under the iron heel of financial, social, political, and in many cases religious, tyranny. God is always upon the side of right, no matter where might may seem to be arrayed for the time being. Our own dear country had a sad

realization of that fact a few years ago, when he arrayed the mighty Anglo-Saxons against each other that the oppressed African might go free.

When, in March, 1861, Victor Emmanuel planted the throne and standard of united Italy within the palaces of the "eternal city," the power of popery received a blow from which it will never recover. From that date the "States of the Church" were only a fact of past history. When, in January, 1871, the capitulation papers to a foreign and intensely hated foe were signed at Paris, the people of France were henceforth enabled to breathe a freer air than had before surrounded them for the past three hundred years. The mace of the "man of blood and iron" may to-day mark out the course of German suffragists, but great William's successor will probably have less faith in the doctrine of the "divine right of kings" than is at present required to fill the standard of that venerable monarch's measure. If God ever designed the plan of monarchical government, he has certainly, under the Christian dispensation, permitted the demonstration to be made that the plan was not absolutely the only one under which the most sacred rights of mankind are always most carefully cherished.

So, also, David Livingstone and Henry M. Stanley have demonstrated in this nineteenth century, as did William Penn two hundred years ago, that it is wiser, cheaper, and infinitely better to arrange and conduct plans of national commerce upon the basis of Christian civilization and Christian equity than at the mouth of cannon or the bayonet's point. The voice of the Christian world inquiring in vain for the hidden grave of "Chinese Gordon" is a sign of the times in which we live, declaring that the cross may not to-day more successfully overthrow the power of the crescent by the power of the sword than in the days of the old crusades.

The world-wide success of Protestant Christianity as demonstrated by the international Christian institutions, such as the Young Men's Christian Association, the Evangelical Alliance, the Sunday-school lesson system, and, in some sense, the great Bible societies of England and America, presents a sign of the times which demonstrates beyond possible contradiction the great fact that the Bible is the real *magna charta* of international commerce for the world. Upon its broad principles

of equity are based the only safeguards of continued success. If we are told that Great Britain realizes far larger commercial profits from the East as the result of her great political and military prowess than she would otherwise be likely to do, we answer that statement with this one unanswerable question; namely, At what value of blood and treasure, invested as her capital in that far-off land? As we come to the domestic relations of life, we hear, or seem to hear, the voice of an unseen one crying out, "Watchman, what of the night?" we cast our eye alone the horizon of Christian civilization, and with bated breath we listen for the answer. It comes. Hear it, ye scoffers at God's eternal truth! "The morning cometh, and also the night." The morning light of God's divine grace is shining into the domestic circles of the human world, widening its home blessings daily more and more, and settling the eternal night of banishment upon the old tyranny of that barbarism which unequalized husband and wife, mother and son, brother and sister, in all the social and domestic relations of life. It has burst the shackles of heathen child-widowhood, which for long cycles of ages in heathen lands bound the female child who, without her own consent, had been wedded to a male child who subsequently might die even in childhood, to a perpetual widowhood. Through this influence in its touches of the domestic relations, the sight of the writhing, blistering flesh of a living woman chained to the body of her dead husband, that had been stretched upon the funeral pyre to be consumed in the cremating flame, has become a fact only of past history. Such revolting scenes no more greet the gaze of humanity. The power of the cross and the restfulness of the tomb, through our Lord Jesus Christ, are opening up to these benighted minds a far better way. Baby widows, destined because of their widowhood to spend a life-time in seclusion from the human world, will shortly be a fact known only to the annals of the past. The shrieks of innocent babes cast into the fiery arms of brazen gods or the reeking jaws of the death-dealing crocodile by superstitious pagan mothers no longer pierce the air of India's sunny land. The advancing principles of our holy Christianity are rapidly dissolving the shackles that have bound womanhood, more or less, in all ages and in all lands. Through these blessed influences is she now rapidly

advancing to the place by the side of man that she seems to have occupied before the fall.

Here again, then, are signs of the times speaking in tones of admonition to all who would oppose the elevation of womanhood to a higher and nobler plane than, outside of Christianity, she has ever occupied since the fall.

Thus have we seen that the signs of the times are, and have been, illustrating the intimate relations that subsist through our Lord Jesus Christ between God and man, along the various lines of political, commercial, social, and domestic relations of life. Let us now take a brief view along the directly religious horizon.

We turn to the eloquent lines of grand old Isaiah, and read: "For as the rain cometh down, and the snow from heaven, and returneth not thither, but watereth the earth, and maketh it bring forth and bud, that it may give seed to the sower, and bread to the eater: so shall my word be that goeth forth out of my mouth: it shall not return unto me void, but it shall accomplish that which I please, and it shall prosper in the thing whereto I sent it." Is this blessed truth in its broadest possible application being fulfilled? Are the nations of the earth being brought under its influence?

This second question only needs to be presented to an intelligent public to set forth its own answer in a most emphatic affirmative. Every continent on the globe echoes a broad affirmative. Christ, by Matthew's pen, declares, "Till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law, till all be fulfilled." These words, too, are of broad signification. Even though the term law might be narrowed down, the care for the jots and tittles demonstrates the fact that the entire Scriptures are to be included as the necessary exponents of the law.

The vast archæological investigations that are being constantly pushed in our own day, amid the tombs of the buried nations of the long, long ago, are continually producing fresh confirmations of the earliest facts of Bible history, and the later fulfillments of biblical prophecy, as they were recorded of old by "holy men of God who spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost." The long-hidden, and possibly by many nations, long-forgotten graves of old Chaldea and far-away

Assyria, that are, in this evening of the nineteenth century, being, with many others of lesser note, thoroughly ransacked and plundered of their long-hidden treasures of historical records of the past of long ago, are producing evidence from the oldest pagan stand-points of the entire correctness of what we call biblical history. We will not here consume time and space in illustrating this point. Any of the late works (and their name is legion) of the multitude of archæological writers will fully demonstrate what has just been said upon this point.

Let us now note a passage or two from the New Testament, with their bearings upon this question, and then we shall have done. The angelic messenger sent to Bethlehem's shepherds said, "Behold, I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people." We ask, Wherefore the joy to *all* people? Hear the answer of the angelic choir, "Peace on earth, and good-will toward men." But are these predictions being fulfilled? Will the facts of political and religious history justify the assumption that they are? "Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God." Surely William Taylor and his heroic followers, in conjunction with other missionary workers who are pushing without military escort into the very heart of the "dark continent," bearing only the white banner of Calvary, and without opposition are planting missions from one coast to the other of that benighted land, are a demonstration of the above stated fact.

What mean the actions of the nations of the earth toward each other to-day? See the vast military hosts of Europe, better drilled, better equipped, and larger in numbers perhaps than at any period of the past. See how, in many instances, they have been scowling upon each other for months, and yet, by some unseen force, have been restrained. All those nations seem willing, and even anxious, to settle all differences by arbitration of a different sort from that of the sword. Are those vast armies great hosts of physical cowards, or are their leaders and rulers slaves to fear? Nay, verily! The Gospel's "Peace on earth, and good-will toward men" is working like a hidden leaven among the nations, and answers the question. The international postal and telegraphic systems of the world, that are to-day in active existence among

the nations of the earth, are ominous signs of the times, pointing the nearing of that day when the nations of the earth shall flow unto the mountain of the Lord's house. "Doomed" is written upon the false religions of the earth. Science and philosophy are no longer arrayed, as they were once supposed to be, against God's revealed truth. Slowly, but surely, are the deserts being made to blossom as the rose. Swords are being displaced by plowshares, and spears are being superseded by pruning-hooks.

Art. VII.—GEOLOGY AND REVELATION.*

"Principal Dawson," as he is best known, is now sixty-seven years old. When only twenty-one he distinguished himself by his masterly geological survey of Nova Scotia, under the direction of Sir Charles Lyell. When only thirty-five he was made principal of McGill College, which, under his administration, has grown to be an influential university. During those thirty-two years (a very long presidency!) Dr. Dawson has become known throughout the learned world as a most able scientist, and throughout the world of Christian learning as one of the very ablest of the scientific defenders of orthodox biblical views at to the supernatural origin of man and nature. The demand for this new and enlarged "ninth edition" of his *Earth and Man* (which first appeared in 1873), attests the enduring value of this work. It has now grown to over four hundred pages, and an abler, yet more popularly intelligible and useful work, in its field, probably does not exist.

One of the landmarks of the intellectual progress of the modern Christian world is the change of view in regard to the science of geology. Eyed askance by many, fifty years ago, as an enemy and a delusion, it now stands recognized as one of the noblest triumphs of the human mind, one of the most valuable side-lights upon the history of man and of the world, and

* *The Story of the Earth and Man.* By Sir J. W. Dawson, LL.D., F.R.S., F.G.S., Principal and Vice-Chancellor of McGill University, Montreal; Author of *Origin of the World*, etc. New Edition, with Corrections and Additions. 12mo, pp. xi, 411. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1887.

on the interpretation of revelation. Geology is, indeed, the sum of all natural sciences. It must be founded on mineralogy and chemistry: but it must also call in botany and microscopy to explain fossil plants, and of zoology and anatomy to expound fossil animals. It must even call on mathematics to compute its cosmic forces, and on astronomy to unfold the secular changes in climates by changes in the polarity of the earth and by its orbital conjunctions with its planetary neighbors. In its vast march of dateless eras it does for the student's conception of *time* just what astronomy does for his conception of *space;* that is, it practically infinitizes it. The value of geology, therefore, as an instrument of mental discipline, can hardly be overestimated.

But it is not as a school text-book, nor as a work of original investigation for the learned specialist, that this book was written and still has its mission. Its design is, in part, to popularize the science of geology, and in part to confute that "materialistic infidelity" (p. 7) and those "scientific banditti" (p. 312) who have attempted to acquire notoriety by turning a noble and truthful science into a field for rash and unscientific anti-Christian speculation.

In the treatment of the earth's origin the author leans to a modified acceptance of the nebular hypothesis of La Place, a vortex of fire-mist gases, then a spherical, revolving molten ocean, then a cooling and crumpling crust, volcanoes, water, scalding chemical rains, disintegration and stratification, marine life, decarbonization of the atmosphere by the vast carboniferous vegetation, then mighty air-breathing amphibian saurians, then mighty mammals on land, then the glacial epochs to sweep away these monsters, pulverize the old continents into soil, bury the colossal vegetation in vast coal-pits, and so prepare the world for its coming monarch—man. All these geologic stages, so often treated, are well illustrated by geological "sections" and diagrams, and by cuts exhibiting the life of the ancient seas and continents, and coming down to the times of the great hairy mammoth of Siberia (another entire specimen of which, by the way, the last Russian exploring expedition has just found in the ice of the New Siberian Islands, where the Yakouts were feeding their dogs on its flesh, and whence they have sent the entire hide and skeleton to St. Petersburg), the mastodon, the

wholly rhinoceros, the cave-bear, the great Irish elk, the terrible machairodus, or saber-tusked tiger, and other recently extinct or still living species, among whose remains the first remains of man are found. There is room for all this in the first twenty-five verses of Genesis, as no modern scholar now doubts or denies.

And then comes the real pith of the book, the real bone of contention in all modern cosmic science; the *time and method of the advent of man on the earth.* There is a current story, of a somewhat apocryphal air, that when the manuscript of Dr. Alexander Winchell's very able and valuable, though very radical, *Pre-Adamites* was seeking its birth in print, one eminent publisher replied that he did not want the book because "the scientific people don't care any thing about Adam, and the Bible people don't care any thing about the pre-Adamites." The story is pat, though the result proved the conclusion false, as the book made a stir, and does yet. The fact is, that this is one of the most vital questions in all anthropology, and is going to stay such for some time to come.

As is well known, Mr. Dawson is one of the ablest champions of Creationism, especially as opposed to the Derivationism of Darwin, the Evolutionism of Spencer, and every other speculative and skeptical theory of man's origin. He shows the fallacy of imagining "miocene apes scourged into reason and humanity by the struggle for existence in the glacial period" (p. 281), and shows that even paleolithic man—the man of the oldest and rudest stone age—was substantially the man of to-day, with a cranial capacity and conquering energy utterly out of all comparison with the most powerful living or fossil gorillas or orangs.

As to the *time* of man's advent on the earth, it was in the post-glacial period, when nearly a hundred species of pleistocene mammals, several of them colossal, were his neighbors in Europe, many of them appearing at his own epoch, nearly sixty of which still survive. The distance of this post-glacial epoch from the present time is provable as not greater than from 6,000 to 10,000 years, most probably 7,000 to 8,000, which roughly harmonizes with Genesis, especially with the probable corrections to be made in biblical chronology. Nay, more, the ground for the biblical deluge appears in the great

geological subsidence by which Europe and western Asia were submerged for a brief period, and in which many species of colossal mammals, and also paleocosmic man (ancient-world man) among them, were swept away, in some instances vast collections of their remains being found buried in their common diluvial sepulchers. The man who followed this cataclysm became, in Europe, Africa, and America, the non-Aryan, but early-civilized Etruscan, the Iberian, Basque, Ugrian, Lapp, Berber, and Carib, and perhaps other races, the neolithic man (new-stone-age man), and bronze-age man, who was nearly but not quite exterminated from Europe by the first Aryan migration, the conquering Celt, and lingers in Europe now only in the Basque and Lapp, but abounds in the African Berber and Taurick.

This creature, man, appears suddenly on the earth, with no intermediate links connecting him with any other order of terrestrial creatures. He is a tool-maker and tool-user from the start. He has ideas, he domesticates animals, especially the dog. He makes pictures (as of the mammoth engraved on bone); he makes marks that seem to be language characters; and he has the idea of a Superior Being and of life after death, as a stone-age burial vault at the foot of the Pyrenees shows in its remains of funeral rites and tools and weapons for the dead. We may well ask, Has any body ever found a cemetery and the funeral rites of a community of apes, and food and implements for ape-souls to use in the spirit-land after death?

And, further, geology joins with ethnology, linguistics, and ethnic tradition in interpreting the biblical Eden as lying at the head of the Persian Gulf, where the Shat-el-Arab now receives the two great rivers of Mesopotamia, and once received several more from the Persian plateau that are now absorbed in the sands before they reach the outlet. And here, for a thousand miles, the whole earth is a sepulcher of man and his cities and works, and was such before the annals of historic nations began.

The demand for new editions of this work is a healthful sign of reaction from the wild and frantic anti-Christian "science, falsely so-called," of the past twenty years. We confidently anticipate that the hammer of the geologist and the spade of the archæologist will yet meet in peace at the prehistoric dawn of man's story on earth.

EDITORIAL MISCELLANY.

CURRENT TOPICS.

FACTS AND TENDENCIES IN EUROPE.

If the saying that "coming events cast their shadows before," be as true as it is trite, then the nations of Europe must be on the eve of great movements, which in their results will affect, for weal or woe, the liberty, the civilization, and the religious progress not of European nations only, but of the human race; for such is the intercommunication of the empires of the earth, the network of commercial interests which bind the races of men together, and such the ambitions of strong powers to control weak ones, that mankind as never before is practically one body. A hurt or benefit to one member must injure or benefit the whole.

What the foreshadowed events will be—which nation Providence is about to pull down, and which to set up—are questions not certainly within the range of human foresight. But their shadow is as visible to the eye of every intelligent observer as that of the earth on the face of an eclipsed moon. That shadow is a palpable fact, which Sir Charles W. Dilke, in a series of remarkable papers which first appeared in the *Fortnightly Review*, on "The Present Position of European Politics," takes as the keynote of his uncommonly lucid and able articles. This fact, as portentous as it is palpable, is, "that the present position of the European world is one in which sheer force holds a larger place than it has held in modern times since the fall of Napoleon." As minor signs of this predominance of force, he points to recent events in Bulgaria, and to the colonizing mania which has lately possessed several great powers, notably Germany, France, and Italy; and which, with unblushing frankness, similar to that of Russia with respect to Central Asia, openly declares a desire and purpose to grab the lands of weaker races without regard to any higher principle than the false assertion that might makes right. But far more significant of this reign of force is the zeal of military preparation. In Germany, France, Italy, Austria, and Russia, armies, navies, and munitions of war as vast as the resources of each nation will permit are kept in readiness for service in the field. Evidently the war spirit is abroad throughout Europe, and nations are kept standing on the tiptoe of expectation, wondering, with more or less of dread, over which people the angel of war will be commissioned to first spread his black wings and begin the deadly conflict. As after the fall of Napoleon, when force, represented in the "Holy Alliance," held Continental Europe in a grip of iron, so now, as never since, force holds her nationalities like hounds in leash ready to leap, but so uncertain of each other's intentions and real aims as to prevent either from taking the dreaded initiative. But that all this fore-

cast of impending war is a sign of "the coming of the Son of man" to judge those nations, and to prepare the peoples for the further development of his kingdom, few Christian students of history will seriously question. Are not the hearts of kings "in the hand of the Lord as the rivers of water?" Doth he not turn them "whithersoever he will?"

The greatest fact in Europe to-day is the German Empire. And its most impressive, if not its greatest, personality, is Prince Bismarck. After the revolutions of 1848, which exploded the Holy Alliance, an astute observer said: "I sum up the last decade in the name of Metternich." Looking on the surface of the stirring events which have marked the creation and growth of the German Empire, one might with seeming propriety now say—I sum up the last decade in the name of Bismarck. Not that Metternich and Bismarck can be justly ranked as equals either in character or statesmanship, since, unlike the former, the latter never mistook "intrigue for statesmanship." Nor has he gained his ends, as Metternich did, by a policy of inaction, but by one of bold action, which, but for his success, would be regarded as rashness. Yet as Metternich was the ruling spirit of that Alliance by which the kings sought to repress every aspiration of their peoples for constitutional liberty, so Bismarck stands before the world as the leader of the more stirring and violent movements by which Prussia, after first wresting from Austria her supremacy among the German States, succeeded in making herself first of the twenty-five German States by the union of which the present German Empire is constituted.

If statesmanship consists simply of clear perceptions of what one wishes to achieve, a practical judgment in the adaptation of means to a proposed end, and skill to direct the human instrumentalities necessary to its accomplishment, then Bismarck is no common statesman. The supremacy of Prussia, in such a confederation or league of numerous sovereign States as might fill the German idea of the Fatherland, was the conception which from almost the beginning of his public life he aimed to realize. To achieve his purpose he had to break the ancient prestige of Austria, to enlarge the territorial possessions of Prussia, to conquer the long-cherished prejudices of the minor German States against Prussia, and to create a constitution for his proposed empire which would appear to meet the growing demands of the German people for self-government, and yet concede such a measure of control to the little army of hereditary kings and princes, whose ancestors had been rooted for ages in the soil, as would win their consent to exchange their independent crowns and rights of royalty for such power, honor, and emolument as a great empire might secure to them. This great ideal Bismarck achieved in less than two decades. The empire of his creation holds its place to-day in the van of European nations. If such amazing success is proof of statesmanship, one cannot deny Bismarck's claim to a high rank among the foremost statesmen of the age.

But if justice be the fundamental principle of real, that is, of Christian statesmanship, the glory of Bismarck's achievement is exceeding dim. To make Prussia great, and to create a new Germany by none but righteous

measures, was not in his original purpose. He did not even profess respect for the rights of the princes or people whose territories he meant to annex to Prussia. Hence, with brutal frankness, he told the Duke of Grammont, Napoleon's minister, that, "*by fair means or foul*, Prussia was resolved to acquire the duchies (of Schleswig-Holstein), and the first place in Germany." Force, or, as he coarsely defined it, "blood and iron," directed by treacherous diplomacy, was avowedly his chosen weapon, which he wielded with ruthless disregard of national obligations and of honorable diplomacy. Trampling on the rights of Denmark as their suzerain, and on the legitimate heirs to the dukedoms, he with the aid of Austria annexed the duchies of Schleswig-Holstein to Prussia. By cunning duplicity, after using Austria as his tool in conquering those duchies, he first designedly alienated that power, and then inveigled her into a war which proved fatal to her supremacy in Germany on the bloody field of Sadowa. By still pursuing his chosen end, and still combining force with duplicity which scrupled at nothing that he believed necessary to success, this imperious man succeeded in annexing several German States to Prussia, and in organizing a North-German Confederation, in which Austria could have no place and Prussia was the chief power. When France, instigated by Grammont's folly, Napoleon's vain self-confidence, and Eugenie's jesuitically inspired desire to see her fling her strength upon the Protestants of Germany, forced the new Confederation into a great war, she found that the wary chancellor had not neglected to bring that Confederation into a high state of military preparation. And when the genius of Moltke had led his victorious legions from the Rhine to the Seine, Bismarck brought together the representatives of twenty-five German States in the palace of Versailles, where, on the 18th of January, 1871, the new German Empire was proclaimed. Bismarck's strong arm, invincible will, and unscrupulous measures had triumphed. And on that proud day his imperial master raised him to the rank of prince. By that grand assemblage of princes and dignitaries Bismarck was honored as the man to whose genius the fact of the Empire was chiefly due.

But if there be any who fancy that Bismarck created this new empire without the essential co-operation and inspiration of his royal master, they have greatly misjudged both the character and genius of the Emperor William. The public has heard Bismarck's voice so often, has seen Bismarck's iron hand strike so effectually and frequently, has read so much of Bismarck's personal influence both in the Reichstag and in diplomatic conferences, that it has come to regard him as the Emperor's brain. Even some of the Emperor's admirers have designated him a "crowned sergeant-major." With broader knowledge of facts and sounder judgment of his real character, a writer in the *Spectator* (London), while justly denying him the "wonderful intelligence, various mental powers, and deep insight of the great Charlemagne, to whom many have unwisely compared him," yet claims that "in strength of character, as a whole, he is no unworthy rival to the great monarch of the middle ages." His greatness is seen less in his actions than in his self-suppression—in his unerring judgment of

the men he needed for the execution of the purpose which he had formed at the beginning of his reign—namely, to exalt Prussia and unite the Fatherland—and in his firm, unwavering support of Bismarck, Von Moltke, and Von Roon, in spite of the bitter hatred begotten in many by the first, and the military jealousies which the other two had to overcome in his armies. Moreover, Bismarck's great personality and executive prominence eclipsed the king, whose sayings, if he ever uttered any worth recording, never reached the public, who seldom made speeches, and who kept himself shrouded in the etiquette of his court. Throughout his career William has been content to appear not as the real leader of its startling events, but as a monarch indebted for his good fortune to men immeasurably greater than himself.

The writer in the *Spectator* corrects this false impression. He shows that though the reins of his government and the direction of his armies have been visibly in the hands of his subordinates, yet William has never ceased from the day of his accession to be the master of all around him. . . . There has never been a time when he has not been the ultimate political force—when he could not have dismissed any one, or when a policy directly contrary to his will could have been carried out." Even Bismarck could never bend him to his will by the force of his personality, but could only bring him to a decision by convincing his judgment. Hence this writer very justly concludes that a man who could govern such agents as he selected, who could keep quietly but persistently above such men as Prince Bismarck, Marshal Von Moltke, and General Von Roon, must have had in him much of the true kingly faculty—"rare force of will, rare fortitude of mind, and above all a most rare temperance of judgment."

One consequence of these flattering and probably correct views of William's strength of character is to make him morally responsible for the injustice, the duplicity, the tyranny, the occasional contempt of law, and the despotic spirit of Bismarck's administration. While it demonstrates his right to a large, if not to the principal share of the glory which glistens round the newborn German Empire, it also shadows his reputation with the blame of those immoral measures by which it was brought into existence, and which the honest historians of his reign will feel obliged to regard as the bar sinister in the imperial coat of arms.

Stability is the test of true statesmanship. It is the work which endures that demonstrates the wisdom, if not the greatness, of the designing mind. Napoleon constructed a vast empire which, not being founded on cohesive principles, but only on force directed by military genius, proved to be an Aladdin's palace. Will the German Empire, built so largely on force, share the fate of the Napoleonic Empire? is, therefore, an inquiry which, if not on the lips, is yet in the thoughts of many. The three men who created it must soon be numbered with the dead. Is their work likely to survive them?

When the new Empire annexed Alsace-Lorraine in presence of the known preference of their inhabitants for the continued rule of France, and of the obvious fact that France would certainly seize the first

favorable opportunity to recover her dominion over those provinces, it, as Von Moltke observed, "created the necessity to stand in arms for fifty years to defend the provinces which it had taken so short a time to win." This arming naturally led surrounding States to increase their military forces, and thus produced that reign of force in Europe already noted. Whether, therefore, the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine, however defensible it may have been under the law of conquest, was really good statesmanship looking to the future, or whether it introduced into the new Empire a peril to its permanence, are questions time only can positively determine. It certainly imposed a heavy pecuniary burden, not only on the people of the Empire, but also on those of the other States compelled by its example to increase their armies. It thereby made itself the instrument of that popular discontent which is the invariable result of impoverishing taxation, and it placed all Continental Europe in a condition of uncertainty with respect to the question of peace or war, so that to-day all its great powers "stand like gigantic gladiators" armed to the teeth, waiting, yet dreading, the hour of coming conflict.

The situation of the new Empire—in the heart of Europe, with no natural boundaries, and lying between three great powers, two of which are at least its military equals and the third far too strong to be despised—is such as to keep its leaders and people in a condition of anxious unrest. France is at open enmity with it. Russia scarcely conceals her disaffection. The Czar, alienated in feeling by its unfriendly attitude in the Berlin Conference and by its unwillingness to approve his more recent measures in Bulgaria, finds his irritation sustained by the increasing bitterness now common to the people of both nations. It is said to be an open secret that he proposed an alliance of some sort with France, which was only declined by the latter because her most conservative leaders did not feel that she was quite ready for the war which such an alliance would be sure to provoke. It is thought by many that the Czar is restrained from pressing such an offensive alliance, partly by his strong personal friendship for Emperor William and partly by his apprehension lest in that emergency Austria, Italy, and England might be induced to enter the arena in support of Germany. "Russia," says Mr. Dilke, "is very timid about facing a European agreement. . . . She very greatly fears an even less militant demonstration by the four powers." From such a stupendous war even the great Colossus of the North shrinks with more or less of dismay, as it well may, seeing that it is badly straitened in its finances and honeycombed with secret seditious societies seeking the life of its Czar and the overthrow of its despotic institutions. Nevertheless, the possibility of such a terrible conflict hangs like a mysterious and ill-omened cloud over the new Empire. And seeing that this overshadowing cloud is composed of the vapors exhaled from the forcible annexation of Alsace-Lorraine, but for which the Empire might have peacefully set itself to the development of its economic resources and to the cultivation of that national spirit which is essential to the consolidation and perpetuity of governments, especially of representative ones, one is

still inclined to ask, "Was the annexation of those territories a really statesmanlike measure?"

That Bismarck fears a possible alliance between France and Russia, and fully estimates the uncertainty of securing offensive alliances with Austria, Italy, and England, was apparent in his recent struggle with the Reichstag in behalf of the Septennate Bill. Knowing that the Empire might at any time need its full military strength in order to preserve its life, and confident that the mass of its people, aware of its external dangers, would endure a very heavy strain upon their civil rights without openly revolting, he not only brow-beat the Reichstag, but did the more daring and questionable deed of soliciting the pope to persuade the Catholic party in that body to give its support to his military bill. In doing this he necessarily gave great offense to the Protestant portion of the German people. But having faith that their loyalty would, under the pressure of external possibilities, bear even this heavy and humiliating strain, he went far enough in the road to Canossa to gain the Catholic vote in the Reichstag, and thereby secured the passage of the Septennate Bill.

In seeking the intervention of the pope, Bismarck was only following his established policy of resorting to any means, "fair or foul," which he deems necessary to the attainment of his ends. When, as in 1873, the pope was avowedly hostile to the unity of Germany, and sought to strike with an iron hand the bishops who refused to accept the dogma of papal infallibility, the resolute chancellor put strong restraints upon his authority over the German Catholic clergy by his famous "May Laws." When the exigencies of his home policy required the political support of the Center or Catholic party in the Reichstag, he solicited the aid of the pope, who now accepts the unity of Germany as an accomplished fact. For this assistance Bismarck, no doubt, bargained by promising important relaxations of the offensive May Laws in favor of papal authority. Herr Windhorst, the leader of the Center, with his adherents, obeyed the pope and voted for the Septennate Bill. That they did so in opposition to their political judgment seems evident from Windhorst's speech, in which, with biting irony, he said, "The pope is infallible, no doubt, but when he knows what we have to say he will see that he has made a mistake!"

Some phrases in the letters of Cardinal Jacobini, touching this affair, awakened suspicion in the minds of Italian statesmen that Bismarck had procured the pope's intervention by promising to do something looking to the restoration of the temporal power to the "Holy See." Italy, therefore, demanded an explanation, which Bismarck gave at once. The offensive phrases were explained away. They meant nothing. They were written, it was said, "during the illness of the pontifical secretary by an inexperienced hand." Italy was assured in the strongest terms that neither Germany nor Austria, under any circumstances, would regard "the position of the supreme pontiff as a matter calling for their interference." Doubtless Bismarck and European statesmen generally look upon "the temporal power as gone forever, without the slightest hope of its restoration by any means, and that King Humbert was justified in calling the Roman

settlement 'a conquest that cannot be touched.'" If the pope would accept this conclusion, Bismarck might indeed do him a valuable service by proposing some means by which the Vatican and the Quirinal might be at peace with each other. But Leo XIII. prefers posing as a sovereign prince unjustly deprived of his territorial rights to a quiet acceptance of the inevitable, and the peaceful exercise of the spiritual authority secured to him by the people of Italy.

It is difficult to comprehend by what process of thought Pope Leo can persuade himself that the temporal power of the Church can ever be recovered. He is said to be a well informed statesman and an industrious administrator. He is in constant communication with the corps of polished diplomats and astute statesmen who are in the thoroughly organized offices of the Vatican. These gentlemen are conversant with courts; they read the leading journals, not of Italy only, but of the world. They must therefore be well aware that no European power is at all likely to wage war upon united Italy for the purpose of restoring the States of the Church to the sway of the pope. They know, too, that most if not all the cardinals have no belief in the restoration of that power; that the kingdom of Italy has not the slightest intention to admit the sovereignty of the pope to any portion of the city of Rome; and that if it had, the people of Rome, including even the devout Catholic portion of its inhabitants, would strenuously resist it. Living, as the pope does, with such minds to inform him, and with these stubborn facts constantly forced upon his attention, it seems impossible that he can believe that he or any succeeding pope can ever recover the scepter which the popes of other days wielded with no credit to themselves, but with much evil to their immediate subjects, to the Italian States, and through them to other European nationalities. The well informed Mr. Dilke is of the opinion that Leo has no such belief. "Undoubtedly," he says, "the Vatican does not expect either from Italy or from abroad any concession of territory or of temporal power."

Why, then, does Leo still agitate this really dead claim? Probably for the same reason that he pretends to be a prisoner within the walls of the Vatican, when in fact he is as free to pass through the streets of Rome or to travel throughout Italy as he is to ramble in the gardens of his palace. To appear as a wrongly deposed sovereign prince, kept in captivity by the Italian government, invests him with an aspect of romantic mystery which impresses the imagination and moves the sympathies of the Catholic world. Of course, it is a deception. Yet it is kept up with jesuitical pertinacity, because it adds, at least for the present, to his influence, not in Rome nor in Italy, where the deception is too transparent to deceive, but in other nations. In Rome itself it is thought, at least by Protestant observers, to do him injury. In that city the mass of the people who are not free-thinkers, as most of the educated classes are, "can be moved as no other people is moved by gorgeous pageantry. . . . The pope inclosed within the Vatican walls to them is nothing; but a pope making a progress through the streets of Rome in his chariot of state, and attended by the noble guards,

is an embodiment of all they admire and revere. . . . It cannot be doubted that if the holy father had been permitted to make himself visible, each drive he took through the city would have been a triumphal progress. The king and queen would have been the first to pay him marks of reverence, and the spectacle of the popular rulers of united Italy yielding public homage to the successor of St. Peter would have had a result difficult to overestimate." This picture is probably overdrawn. Leo's priestly adherents would most likely be so imprudently demonstrative of their loyalty, so insultingly arrogant in their behavior, as to give offense to that considerable portion of the Roman people who hate the papacy with a perfect hatred, and counter demonstrations might have caused open strifes and have marred the effect sought. It may, therefore, be practical wisdom to forego the uncertain results of such public appearances in Rome for the sake of the influence gained abroad by the imaginary captivity of the supreme pontiff.

Mr. Dilke affirms that "the political influence of the Vatican has risen higher lately than the highest point at which it had stood since the Reformation." One may well hesitate to accept this statement, notwithstanding the breadth and general correctness of its author's information. The political situation in France, Belgium, and Italy is assuredly not such as the pope desires to see it. In Austria his influence is no more noticeable now than in past times. And when Sir Charles, in another place, says that "*the first great interference of the pope in modern times*" was his recent co-operation with the German Chancellor in favor of the Septennate Bill, he concedes that prior to this event the political influence of his holiness had not been a very weighty and recognized factor in European affairs. In truth, he relies mainly on this one fact to prove his assertion. Perhaps he regards it as foreshadowing the purpose of the Vatican to meddle henceforth in the politics of modern nations, by the vigorous exercise of its authority over its adherents whenever and wherever their numerical relations to existing political parties are such as to place the balance of power in their hands, provided they can be made to act as a unit under priestly dictation. But this is only discounting a very uncertain future. It fails to take account of the growth of the spirit of political independence in the people. Recent events in this country have revealed a disposition among Romanists to resent the interference of the pope in their political affairs. And it is unlikely that the voting Catholics of Europe, with their constantly increasing intelligence and sense of right to an independent use of the ballot, will yield with the submissiveness of mediæval ignorance to papal dictation.

The significance of the pope's successful interference in German politics diminishes when it is viewed in the light of all the circumstances by which it was surrounded. In soliciting it, Bismarck, with his habitual disregard of principle, viewed the pope as a convenient tool through whom he might accomplish his end. Knowing that the pressure of the so-called "May Laws" on the Catholic clergy, and through them on their people, was so severely felt as to make their modification desirable to the

Catholic party in the Reichstag, and fearing, possibly, that he might be forced to yield the ecclesiastical claims set up by the State, he was willing to promise their relaxation as the price of its vote for his military bill. But that party was jealously hostile to his measure. As citizens, they felt the seven years' control of the military it gave to the Emperor might be made dangerous to the liberties of the people. Bismarck could neither persuade nor dragoon them to vote for it. Then the chancellor turned to the pope, offering as the price of his influence with the Romanists of the Reichstag to modify the laws with which, in the past, he had restrained his holiness from the free exercise of his ecclesiastical authority over the Catholic clergy. Regardless of the fact that the measure was not in the interests of the people but of imperial power, and of the honest convictions of the Catholics in the Reichstag that it ought not to pass—refusing to see any thing but the recovery, at least in part, of his suspended authority—the pope put forth the required persuasion, perhaps gave his command. His adherents reluctantly submitted, laying their sense of duty to the State at his feet. The hated bill was passed. The May Laws were modified. The pope published a jubilant allocution. Bismarck, by his help, had strengthened imperialism, albeit in so doing he had inflicted a wound on the feelings of the Protestant subjects of his imperial master which, perchance, will be remembered when the Nemesis which treads on the heels of despotism arises to assist the friends of popular liberty in their contest for a government which shall be free, not in form only, but in both form and fact.

The despotic principle incorporated into the administration of the Empire by Bismarck, and openly avowed by the emperor in a royal rescript of January, 1882, can scarcely be regarded as good statesmanship, or as boding permanency to the Empire in view of the demands of the German people for a really constitutional government administered in harmony with its declared principles. In that rescript the Emperor said: "It is my will that both in Prussia and in the legislative bodies of the Empire there may be no doubt left as to my own constitutional right, and that of my successors, to personally conduct the policy of my government." If these words have any meaning, they set up a monarchical theory which, logically applied, is subversive of the right of the people to determine the policy of its government through its legally elected representatives. That Bismarck and the kaiser so understood it was shown by their practical suppression of the freedom of the press by means of numerous prosecutions of editors who criticised the measures of the government for "libels of the sovereign or his ministers." Should the Emperor's successor insist on this view of his imperial right to personal government, is it not probable that some German Cromwell may sooner or later appear who will transform the Empire into a Republic? In nothing, perhaps, have both the kaiser and his chancellor shown their lack of wisdom and foresight so much as in their failure to recognize in the progressive spirit of the time that despotism in the government of intelligent people must be reckoned among the impossibilities of the future.

There are wide differences of opinion among thoughtful European observers respecting the permanency of the German Empire. Mr. Dilke predicts confidently that its existence will be prolonged indefinitely. He thinks there will be no war with surrounding nations to imperil its existence at present, notwithstanding the warlike attitude of them all. "France," he says, "is not going to attack Germany in a single-handed struggle. Germany is not going to attack France." Russia, as already stated, is held back by her apprehension of combinations too strong even for her colossal proportions. With respect to the consequences likely to follow the deaths of the emperor and the chancellor, which in the nature of things cannot be far-off events, he thinks that, as it was in Russia after the death of the second Alexander so it will be in Germany; things will go on after their death as they do now. He looks favorably on the capacity of the crown prince to govern, and sees in Count Herbert Bismarck, the son of the great chancellor, a man very much like his father. He describes him as "a strong and very decided person, knowing exactly what he means to do and exactly how he means to do it." Hence, as the policy of the crown prince must be to preserve the Empire he expects to inherit, and as he will probably find in Herbert Bismarck a man with much of the present chancellor's executive force, Mr. Dilke supposes that there will be little change in the policy and life of the Empire. How long it will continue thus he wisely forbears to predict.

These anticipations, viewed in the light of Mr. Dilke's presentation of existing facts, are assuredly very optimistic, if not somewhat contradictory. With respect to the probabilities of speedy war, they appear to sweep aside two important factors mentioned in his own papers; namely, the caprices of the Czar of Russia and of the French people; either of whom may at any time, and without the introduction of any really new factors into the question, suddenly light the dreaded torch of war. A fit of irritation, a sudden impression that Nihilism may be swept out of existence by the rushing tides of national feeling always begotten by a great foreign war, or an uncontrollable impulse of unreasoning passion, may determine the former at any moment to "let slip the dogs of war." As to the French people, no man can reckon on the direction their spirit of revenge, their desire to recover their former military prestige and their lost provinces, may take. As the inflammatory speeches of Grammont moved them to clamor for the opening of their unfortunate attack on Germany in 1870, so in spite of the counsels of their conservative men who, like Freycinet, fear "that even a successful war would upset the Republic," their present military idol, Boulanger, may so inflate their imaginations with visions of victory as to lead them either to compel their present ministry to obey their will or secure the creation of another. In its present state of mind the French nation is a powder magazine which may be exploded by even a chance spark. Seeing, therefore, that the action of Russia is dependent on the caprice of its sovereign, and of France on that of a proverbially capricious people, it is obviously impossible to reason with any confidence from the tendencies

of passing events to their conclusion. Humanly speaking, caprice is king of the situation; but then, in spite of caprice, "the Lord reigneth," and he can compel even the caprices of kings and peoples to bend to the accomplishment of his purposes.

With respect to the permanence of the German Empire a very different view from that of Mr. Dilke is taken by other well-informed observers. The foreign correspondent of a leading New York journal, for example, says: "The unification of Germany is not complete if its political unity exists. There are wide differences of opinion between the States of North and South Germany, which are bound together only by past success. Bismarck's work is not so solid as it looks to be, and failure in the next great military enterprise will be its ruin."

M. Taine, speaking of Bismarck's, and he might in this have included the Emperor William's passion for the supremacy of Prussia, says: "He underestimates the energy of the national spirit among the conquered, while he overestimates his own prestige at home and in his annexations, where he exaggerates the zeal and confidences of his new subjects." In this M. Taine is sustained by Professor Muller, in his *Political History of Recent Times*, who, writing of the vote both in the Bundesrath and Reichstag, in 1876, which located the imperial supreme court at Leipzig instead of Berlin, as desired by both Bismarck and the Emperor, says, "That the vote clearly showed that jealousy of Prussia was not confined to the governments of the individual States, but also shared by the people at large, and that it was an unfavorable omen for the speedy consolidation of the Empire just in so far as such consolidation signified an increase of Prussian ascendency."

But it must be recollected that the supremacy of Prussia was and still is the cardinal point with both Bismarck and the emperor. With them it is not the Empire, but Prussia, that is first. They love the Empire chiefly because it adds to the glory of what Bismarck calls "My Prussia." That it is bad statesmanship, the offspring of narrowness of feeling in two otherwise great minds, to plant such a jealousy in a newly-created Empire needs no proof. That this jealousy will hereafter put the strength of German unity to the test cannot be doubted by any one who knows the strength and vitality of that bad passion. But whether it will, as many suppose, be the cause of contests amid which this modern Empire "will crumble to ruin," only "God, who sitteth on the circle of the heavens," can foresee.

D. W.

WHAT DOES HENRY GEORGE MEAN? WHAT IS SAID ON BOTH SIDES.

Any movement which involves a change in existing institutions, or which touches vested interests, is sure to meet with opposition. There is much misunderstanding of Henry George's notions, resulting partly from ignorance, but more largely from deliberate misrepresentation. Macaulay said that the doctrine of gravitation would not yet be received if it interfered with vested rights. Mr. George purposes to interfere, through the ballot, with a certain class of vested rights, and for this reason it is difficult to get a fair statement of what he means. We are of the opinion that many of his notions are visionary, and that his expectations of a millennium through land reform are in a degree utopian, and yet we would understand him. The George Party, as the new Labor Party is sometimes called, is an acknowledged power in politics. And that there are grounds for the unrest of the middle and lower classes in all Christian lands there can be no doubt. Mr. George at least proposes a remedy. Others say, "Let us go on as we are, only drink less whisky," which is excellent advice, but old and impotent. Let us then find out what this John the Baptist means.

It is common to hear Mr. George denounced as a Socialist or a Communist—one of those fire-brands who would divide up the wealth of the world, and destroy the property of the rich by giving it to the poor. The opinion of many even well-educated persons is, that he would destroy private ownership and control of land by a general act of confiscation, whereby all titles would be transferred to the government, and land would be held under the old system of tribal ownership. All these opinions are wrong. Mr. George is not a Socialist, and he declines to be classed with them or to co-operate with them. So far from dividing up and distributing property to the poor, he boasts that his system alone recognizes the sacred rights of property. From the doctrine that "property is a crime" he is separated *toto cœlo*. He would not even tax legitimate private property, much less confiscate it. Rightful ownership, he says, originates in personal toil. "The right of property springs from the manifest natural right of every individual to himself and to the benefit of his own exertions. This is the moral basis of property."—(*Property in Land*, p. 49.) A man has a right to himself, and to the products of his activity; and whatever property he accumulates by his toil is his by the best and only inalienable title. With such property a man may do what he pleases; and governments have a right to tax it only after having taxed to full rental value that form of property which was the gift of the Creator and not the result of human toil—namely, the land. Mr. George believes that tax on land should equal, or nearly equal, its rental value, always, however, excepting improvements (the improvements, being the product of labor, should never be taxed), and that all such tax income belongs of

right to the public, inasmuch as it is a value which was not produced by the owner, but by the progress of society.

A piece of unimproved land has a rental value only when two or more persons want it; and its value is the highest sum that the demand will enable its owner to get. It is a value, therefore, that has its origin in social needs and progress, and is what John Stuart Mill calls "the unearned increment." But all improvements, of what sort soever, as houses, fences, drainage, etc., being the product of labor, are sacred to him who produced them. The unimproved land, or, as we say, the naked earth, is the gift of God to mankind and belongs to all. In the House of Commons Mr. W. Saunders, when moving a resolution in favor of the direct taxation of ground rents, said that Herne Hill, an estate of 100 acres in London, had risen in value in twenty-five years by $375,000. This increment was the result of the growth of London, and not of the labor of the owner. The land reformers ask us why a large part of that increment should not go, as a matter of pure equity, to the public? On the north end of Manhattan Island there is a point of land projecting into the Hudson. Although still as barren as when the Indians sold it for beads, it is of immense value, and its owners refuse to part with it. Being unimproved property, the taxes are relatively light. Mr. George asks his critics who gave the value to that rocky peninsula? Not the owners, for they have done nothing for it. It is not the product of labor, but the gift of God. The adjoining property has been improved and put to use, and as a consequence has been heavily taxed; but this unimproved peninsula, like the fabled dog in the manger, has done nothing for society, and has shifted its fair burden of taxation on to its neighbors. Where are we to look for the origin of the immense value which attaches to the peninsula? Evidently not to its owners, who have done nothing for it, but to the progress of society. It belongs to those who created it; namely, to society. Such is the theory and reasoning of Mr. George.

It is equally a misapprehension of Mr. George's scheme to suppose that he favors the old system of tribal ownership of land, or that all titles are to be vested in the State. He would not disturb titles. These are to remain as they are, and land would be bought and sold and leased under his system as at present. "We do not hold," he says, "that nations, any more than individuals, can get absolute ownership in land." Alfred Russell Wallace, the eminent scientist, is the president of the Land Nationalization Society of Great Britain, and the objects of that society are "to affirm that the State holds the land *in trust for each generation;* to restore to all their natural right to use and enjoy their native land; and to obtain for the nation the revenue derived from its land."

In his reply to the Duke of Argyle Mr. George said (*Property in Land*, p. 51): "I hold with Thomas Jefferson that 'the earth belongs in usufruct to the living, and that the dead have no power or right over it.' I hold that the land was not created for one generation to dispose of, but as a dwelling-place for all generations; that the men of the present are not

bound by any grants of land the men of the past may have made, and cannot grant away the rights of the men of the future."

The highest title in law to land in the United States is *tenancy* in fee simple. That title is subject to such taxation as the government shall deem right and necessary. The taxation may be increased to a point which would produce a revenue that would exempt all other property from tax. It may be made equal to the full rental value of the ground, and if the owner cries out against the injustice of so great a tax upon the land, the government may answer: "Your deed does not and cannot fix the amount of your tax—that is a matter in the discretion of the State; besides, the values which we collect in taxes on the land, irrespective of its improvements (which are not taxed), were not produced by your toil, but by the general industry and enterprise of the whole community. As matter of natural justice, and also of law, it belongs to the public."

In the *Standard* of July 2, 1887, Mr. George writes:

> We propose to exempt from all taxation that species of property which is the result of human toil, and to put our taxes upon land values, irrespective of improvements. Were that done, the people who are now holding vacant land without using it would either have to use it or part with it to somebody who would.

All this is new to most people, but it is by no means new to those who have made a study of the social problems of mankind. In substance, it has been urged in various forms in all the great civilizations. The basis on which it is now urged is a Christian one; namely, that of natural justice and the brotherhood of man. The argument is simple. If man has a right to life, he has a right to the soil. As fish must have water so men must have land. Separate men from land and they die. Give all the land to a class, and the rest must become their dependents. The evils that lie in monopoly increase to the proportions of a crime when monopoly seizes land. Rack-rent and serfdom are, sooner or later, the consequences of monopoly in land. In a new country the evils are hid, but look at Ireland. Private ownership of land is monopoly of land, and is therefore contrary to natural justice and the brotherhood of man. Thirteen men are said to own half of Scotland. Suppose one of the thirteen should buy out the other twelve, then one man would, under the present system, have absolute control of half the kingdom, and could appropriate its lands to shooting preserves for himself and friends, while the poor were starving for bread. In former centuries the people of Scotland had access to the soil, but now the glens that once sent forth their thousand fighting men are tenanted by a couple of game-keepers. It is claimed by Mr. Arthur Arnold that nearly four fifths of the lands of Great Britain and Ireland, or 60,000,000 acres, are in the hands of about 7,000 persons. In the United States there are single farms of 100,000 acres.

But in point of fact, no civilization ever recognized absolute private ownership in land, and Mr. George does not propose a revolution, but rather a reform along recognized and established lines of progress. The

right of eminent domain, whereby the State appropriates with compensation lands for public uses, such as forts, parks, and roads, is the denial of absolute ownership. The law of the jubilee in the Mosaic legislation only permitted leases of land. All lands alienated from the family were returned at the end of fifty years. "And the land shall not be sold in perpetuity, for the land is mine." Lev. xxv, 23. The Land Acts recently passed by the English Parliament regulating the rents of the tenant farmers of certain parts of the empire are incompatible with the doctrine of private land ownership. The lands of Irish landlords have been practically seized by the British government in the interests of the tenants, and the entire American press, including the opponents of Mr. George, has applauded the seizure.

In 1870 a bill was passed by Parliament securing to Irish tenants all improvements they make on their farms. In 1881 a system of land courts was instituted to fix fair rents and secure fixity of tenure, and the owners are bound to put up with what the courts allot them or get nothing. A few days ago the present Tory government passed a bill still further reducing the rents and increasing the authority of the tenants. A Parnellite member of Parliament has said that this last land bill will bankrupt more than half the landlords of Ireland. It is hardly possible to-day for landowners to raise money on their landed property in Ireland. This may be all wrong, but there is an increasing number of people who sympathize with the saying of the Indian chief Black Hawk, "The Great Spirit has told me that land is not to be made property like other property. The earth is our mother."

Mr. George is by no means a pioneer on this question. John Stuart Mill (in his *Principles of Political Economy*, vol. i., page 295), writes: "When the sacredness of property is talked of, it should always be remembered that any such sacredness does not belong in the same degree to landed property. No man made the land. It is the original inheritance of the whole species. Its appropriation is wholly a question of general expediency. When private property in land is not expedient it is unjust. . . . It is a hardship to be born into the world and to find all nature's gifts previously engrossed and no place left for the new-comer."

Herbert Spencer holds similar views. "Equity does not permit," he says, "private property in land. For if one portion of the earth may justly become the property of an individual, then all the earth's surface may be so held. The world is God's bequest to mankind. All men are joint heirs to it."

Before offering some criticisms of certain weak places in Mr. George's scheme, let us ascertain what benefits he expects to flow from it for the average man. One of the smaller of these benefits would be, that the large class of persons known as landlords, who now live from the toil of others, and are themselves non-producers, would be *liberated* to join the ranks of the world's workers. By this change the parasites would become producers. A more signal advantage would be the cheapening of land and of mining privileges. If unused lands and mines which are

now held for speculative purposes were taxed to their rental value they would be forced into the market. Speculation and "corners" in land would cease. Speculators could no longer hold them, at so high a rate of taxation, and it would be no longer difficult for a poor man to secure a lot for a house, or a piece of ground for a farm. No person could hold more land than he would put to profitable use. The vast areas of land in the West now held by corporations and syndicates for speculative purposes would be released. It is affirmed that more than 20,000,000 acres of Western and Southern lands are held by foreign capitalists. All such land-grabbers, whether citizens or foreigners, would have to relax their grip upon mother earth. Coal and the useful ores, which the Creator has stored away in the bowels of the earth in so great abundance for the service of man, would be released from the syndicates who now control them, and the price would be regulated by their quantity, and not by greed and selfishness. The coal combinations in Pennsylvania could no longer fix the amount of coal that should be put upon the market.

Another gain would be found in releasing toil from taxation. It is claimed by Mr. George that the land tax would be sufficient for all the needs of government, and as a consequence every toiler would be secured all the product of his labor. Industry would be liberated and production increased. The present system depresses industry by heavy taxes, as shipbuilding has been taxed out of existence in the United States; but a tax on land would not decrease the amount of land cultivated, so long as the tax did not exceed the rental value. When Mohammed Ali taxed date trees in Egypt the fellahs cut down the trees, but a heavier tax on land produced no such result. Unused land has at present an insignificant tax upon it, while an adjoining farm, on account of its improvements, is taxed heavily. This is putting a premium on non-production and taxing industry.

Another advantage would be, that the institution of land "booming" would come to an end, and all fictitious and inflated valuations would cease. When land values are crowded up to a point which will leave for capital and labor less than their accustomed returns, a disturbed and congested industrial condition will result; and just here Mr. George finds the primary cause of the recurring paroxysms of business depression.

On the moral aspects of this question we must not enlarge. Christianity has never yet succeeded in reaching the abject poor. Her stronghold has always been the independent middle classes. To reach the poor with the Gospel they must first be made accessible by social well-being. Free industry from its burdens, restore the earth to the people, and poverty would become as rare as excessive wealth is to-day. There is land enough to feed ten worlds like ours. The Mississippi Valley could clothe and feed all the nations of the earth.

Malthusianism, that pessimistic bugbear which arraigns Providence and destroys faith, finds a stalwart opponent in the author of *Poverty and Progress*. Mr. George condemns the doctrines of Malthus, not only on

religious grounds, but from considerations drawn from history and a sound political economy, and one of his best services to sociology is his masterly discussion of this subject. He proves conclusively that there is no cause to dread either an over-crowded world or a starving world.

There is one other point of importance urged by our land reformers; namely, that a land tax can be collected with less machinery and fraud than any other style of revenue. The present system engenders fraud, perjury, and theft. It corrupts the officers of the revenue and the public conscience. The customs revenue leads to fraudulent invoices and smuggling, and the tax on personal property creates perjury and falsehood. But land lies out-doors. It cannot be hid, and its rental value is easily ascertained. The machinery of collection would be simplified, and the temptations to fraud would be reduced to a minimum.

So far on the credit side of this question. Let us now inquire for the debit account. Civilized society rests on the security of life and property. Absolute security for property earned may be said to be the foundation of modern civilization. No community can be industrious if its earnings are not safe. Mr. George proposes to confiscate all landed property (barring improvements) to the State. He has told us that he does not like the word *confiscate;* but that is precisely the word which defines his plan (*con* and *fiscus*, the common treasury), and it is no defense to say that titles of land are to remain with present holders so long as he would tax the land up to its full rental value. There is no advantage in owning a piece of land if the government seizes its entire revenue. This seizure of ground rents does not disturb the security or revenue of other property, but it is the mal-appropriation of a vast amount of property for which, in most cases, the owners paid honest money. It is a bad example in morals for the sovereign State to put before the citizens, and it would not fail to corrupt the public conscience.

For these reasons many eminent publicists, including Herbert Spencer and Mr. Mill, insist that the government shall make compensation for rents thus appropriated. In his *Political Economy*, vol. i, p. 296, Mr. Mill writes: "It is due to land-owners and to owners of any property whatever, recognized as such by the State, that they shall not be dispossessed of it without receiving its pecuniary value. This is due on the general principles on which property rests."

So long as Mr. George refuses to recognize this right of compensation his reform will have uphill work, for he challenges the resistance of the land-owning classes on the ground of self-interest, and of all classes on the ground of fair play. It is to be conceded, however, that *the mode* of land resumption by the State is an incidental issue, and does not involve the question of the justice and expediency of private ownership in land.

In the *Forum* for July, 1887, Prof. W. T. Harris has an article with the caption, "Henry George's Mistake about Land." The first mistake which this critic points out is Mr. George's overestimate of the income from ground rents. By using United States census returns, he figures

"the actual value of all land in the United States, owned as private property, at somewhat less than $10,000,000,000 for 1880. Counting the rent on this land at four per cent., we have less than $400,000,000 per annum, making an average of nearly $8 for each inhabitant, or a little more than two cents per day." This small sum, the Professor tells us, would not bring ease and luxury to those who are struggling with poverty. The annual expenses of the government are about $800,000,000. But Professor Harris seems to overlook the vast increase of production which would result from releasing the lands and mines that are now tied up by private ownership. By the present system, land industries are administered only so as to enrich the owners. Under the proposed system they would be administered by the entire population, in the interest of the entire population; or, to use Mr. Lincoln's phrase at Gettysburg, they would be administered "by the people, of the people, for the people."

Mr. George follows Karl Marx in the pessimistic notion that the rich are growing richer and the poor are growing poorer. Professor Harris shows that this is not true. The middle classes, whose incomes are from $750 to $5,000, have increased since 1850 threefold; the wealthy classes, whose incomes are from $5.000 to $15,000, have increased twofold; while the number of persons whose incomes have been below $750 per annum has relatively decreased, and the average income risen from $265 to $415 since 1850. J. P.

MEDICINE AND SURGERY AS RELATED TO MISSIONS.

"The physician who can minister to a soul diseased can do much good; but one who can minister both to soul and body at the same time is bound to accomplish a more noble work," is an aphorism credited to the *New York Tribune*. It is particularly true in relation to the extension of Christ's kingdom throughout heathen lands by means of educated medical missionaries. It is in perfect concord with the practical teaching of the Lord Jesus, who "went about all the cities and villages, teaching in their synagogues, and preaching the gospel of the kingdom, and healing every sickness and every disease among the people." (Matt. ix, 35.) Then, as now, the harvest was "truly plenteous, but the laborers few." In sending out the seventy evangelists, he commanded them to "heal the sick" in whatsoever city they entered, and to "say unto them, The kingdom of God is come nigh unto you." (Luke x, 9.) Prior to his ascension the apostles received a renewal of their preaching and healing commission. Similar therapeutic endowments were at the same epoch promised to "them that believe"—"they shall lay hands on the sick and they shall recover." Results were in harmony with obedience and promise: "They went forth and preached every-where, the Lord working with them and confirming the word with signs following." (Mark xvi, 15–20.)

This authoritatively prescribed method of spreading Christianity throughout all lands evinces thorough knowledge of the needs of humanity in the Orient, and in every part of the habitable globe, and indicates the swiftest and surest measures for bringing people of every tongue into the faith, practice, and privileges of true discipleship. Therefore, the greater the progress of medicine and surgery—the more judiciously both branches of the healing art are utilized by missionaries, and the more speedy, always supposing orthodox faith, love, and zeal in spiritual doctrine—will be the approach of the time when Christianity shall be the religion of the race, and the ethics of the Sermon on the Mount the acknowledged guide of all individual and social activities.

Two thousand young men and women in this country, and probably an equal, if not larger, number in other lands, are reported to have accepted the call of the Holy Spirit to missionary labor in foreign fields. Many of them intend to obtain a medical education. Some are in course of training, and others will doubtless feel it to be their duty to seek high medical and surgical qualifications. Preaching and teaching practitioners, overburdened by work, are earnestly appealing for re-enforcements. The door of opportunity opens wide, and that of its own accord. Bright as the promises of God are the prospects of his Church. Earnest toilers in every department of science and art are consciously or unconsciously aiding in the great enterprise. Wonderful as the developments of national life have been within the last century, those of the Christian life are still more marvelous. We expect much greater things in the years to come.

In giving reasons for the hope that is in us of the world's complete evangelization within the near future, one of them is founded in the progress of medicine and surgery during the past fifty years. Dr. R. Burdenell Carter, a recent and able writer, asks: "From what pains which our ancestors were compelled to suffer, have we obtained exemption, and from what maladies, which proved fatal to them, have we the means of protecting ourselves?" The answers to these queries crowd together from many quarters, and are of most interesting and instructive character. The recorded death-rate of large cities is only a partial reply, but one, so far as it goes, that is very satisfactory. Macaulay states that in 1685, which was not a sickly year, more than one in twenty-three of the inhabitants of London died; in 1885 the mortality was about one in fifty. The disciples of Galen and Hippocrates claim that their practice has saved more than half a million lives in England and Wales in excess of the number preserved between 1838 and 1847. In the United States of America the effects of preventive and curative medicine have been not less gratifying. Sanitary legislation has had much to do with these beneficent facts. Improved drainage, improved water supply, better paving and scavenging, the larger removal of refuse, and the comparative prevention of overcrowding, suggested and guided for the most part by Christian physicians and philanthropists, are entitled to great credit. All have been introduced, to some extent, into countries dominated or in-

fluenced by modern Christian civilization. India, particularly, has been benefited by them.

The epidemics and plagues which in former centuries so dreadfully devastated European countries, and which still commit such terrible ravages in heathen lands, have lately been stripped of half their morbid power. Less than fifty years ago scientific pathologists saw that "contagious emanations proceeding from the sick must consist of definite particles, since they obeyed the laws of definite particles and no others; and that these particles must differ among themselves, being in every case peculiar to the disease which alone produced them, and which alone they could reproduce." Local epidemics of cholera were clearly traced back to the use of polluted water; and cases of typhoid fever through contaminated water supply to sewers, middens, and cesspools, and through them to the excretions of infected persons that had been deposited therein. The passage of typhoid poison into cesspools, thence by percolation into wells, and thence, by rinsing milk-cans with the water, to the consumers of the milk, has been clearly established in every case investigated. Protective measures against the contagion of one disease are found to be useless against those of a different nature. Security against any specific disease can only be attained, if at all, through knowledge of its essential phenomena and life-history. M. Pasteur's demonstration of the growth of bacteria in the tissues of the lower animals has enabled scientists to trace some diseases to these minute living organisms, and to conjecture that others originate in similar causes, although attempts to prove it have thus far ended in failure. Much remains to be discovered. Those best qualified to judge believe that the best antidotes to injurious bacteria may be the operation of others of different character. Whatever further researches may elicit, it is safe to predict that they will promote that cautious, reverent, and yet inquiring spirit which is of the very essence of the religion of Christ.

Self-poisoning is shown to be originable in the failure to burn off, by means of the oxygen which enters the blood in respiration, the poisonous substances formed in the body by the expenditure of force in living, and that this poison may afterward spread by contagion, and especially in overcrowded and underfed communities. Typhus, the jail-fever of the Middle Ages, and the sickness of which multitudes of the Irish died after the failure of the potato crop, is one form of this poisoning. The interdependence of all classes in any commonwealth is a lesson taught by experience, as well as by the gospel of grace. The isolation of the sick, the chemical disinfection of their discharges before removal from the room, and the condition and quality of all kinds of food, are directly related to the recovery of the diseased, and to the safety of those who are still well. Diphtheria has repeatedly been produced by drinking the milk of cows suffering from pneumonia or related diseases, and scarlet fever by drinking that of cows with ulcerated udders, the secretion from which has fallen into the pails.

Homely and unpretentious as such knowledge may be, it is of inesti-

mable service to medical missionaries, and greatly augments their power of usefulness. Small-pox, the dreaded scourge of past centuries, has lost its terrors through the application of vaccine. According to Dr. Buchanan, where one vaccinated child dies of small-pox, two hundred of the unvaccinated perish from the same disease. Vaccine thus becomes an instrument of evangelical power. The ability to prevent maladies due to industrial conditions—such as lung diseases occasioned by inhalation of dust, etc., etc.—by adequate methods of protection is another. Knowledge of the alterations produced by or which constitute disease is still another. The invention and use of the stethoscope to ascertain the condition of the heart and lungs, of the clinical thermometer to find the temperature of the blood, of specula for the dilatation, inspection, and treatment of natural orifices, of the various kinds of mirrors for exploring the cavities of the body, of the needle syringe for hypodermic injections, are yet other instruments of missionary usefulness and success.

The confidence of heathen or Moslem patients when once gained seems to be implicit. The use of anæsthetics, which has changed the whole aspect of surgery, only confirms that confidence. In comparison with the rough, unscientific cruelty of old chirurgeons, the present practice is mildness itself. "Death from shock" is comparatively rare. Conservative surgery is leisurely in its movements, and carefully cuts out diseased portions of joints or limbs, that it may leave members possessed of some degree of strength and usefulness. Difficulties from bleeding are prevented by proper appliances, extensive wounds frequently healed by "first intention," and the horrors of hospitalism greatly mitigated. Animal poison, deadly as that of the rattlesnake, may be cultivated in successive patients, and the very air of the wards be charged with the products of decomposition so that they will inoculate fresh wounds, and produce forms of blood-poisoning that frequently end in death: that such is not extensively the case at present is one triumph of preventive medicine. Accurate coaptation, drainage of wounds, soluble ligatures, exclusion of germ-charged air, and the absolute and chemically completed cleanliness of hands and instruments employed, have enormously decreased hospital and domestic mortality. The importance of instrumental purity can scarcely be exaggerated; for "the shoulder of a knife, the eye of a needle, the fiber of a ligature, the finger-nails of the surgeon, or of an assistant, are all places" in which decomposing albuminous matter, which usually swarms with bacteria, may find a lodgment, and from which it may be transferred to wounds. The application of such knowledge in non-Christian lands will not only save innumerable valued lives, but will induce favorable leaning, to say the least, to that science of salvation from spiritual evils which has given birth thereto.

Hidden diseases—such as ovarian tumors—which have made the lives of countless feminine sufferers but long successions of pains and weaknesses, are no longer the despair of operative surgery. Dr. Ephraim McDowell, of Kentucky, in 1809, was the first to reduce the suggestion of his pre-

ceptor, John Bell, of Glasgow, to practice. Lord Selborne calculates that each successful operation adds twenty-nine years on the average to the life of the patient, and that, too, at the age when such life is of most importance to the family and the commonwealth. The faculty of rendering such service commends female medical missionaries to such acceptance in polygamic communities as they could not otherwise obtain. Epilepsy and paralysis, as caused by injuries to or diseases of the brain, are much better understood than in any previous era; and operations involving trephining of the skull and removal of tumor are attended by an unusual degree of success. The ophthalmoscope, bringing living nerves and their blood-vessels into view, and assisted by cocaine, which temporarily destroys the sensibility to pain of the part to which it is applied, is one of the great inventions of the past forty years, and one of the most useful aids to oculists in the treatment of diseased or abnormally constructed eyes.

John Wesley is commonly credited with the saying that "cleanliness is next to godliness." Modern medical science asserts that as prophylactic and curative it is "next" to nothing, but equal, if not superior, to medicine itself. England claims the credit of its application to surgery, and also claims the honor of discovering the circulation of the blood, the functions of the spinal cord, and the reflex action of the nervous centers. The employment of anæsthetics and ovariotomy she concedes to the United States; auscultation and the stethoscope to France, and the ophthalmoscope to Germany. These are the great missionary nations of the world, and by them will all the discoveries and appliances of the Esculapian art be utilized for the subjugation of the world to Christ. Not by the crosier and the sword, but by the teacher and the healer, are the coming triumphs of the sacramental host to be won.

Singularly, and yet necessarily, prominent in the vanguard of the evangelical army are our female medical missionaries. Yet it is but a little while since they were admitted to a practice peculiarly suited to their nature and to the most pressing demands of society, in and out of Christendom. America is acknowledged to be the first of civilized countries to receive women into the ranks of authorized medical practitioners. Miss Blackwell was among the foremost, if not the first, to graduate in this country, and was permitted, after the passage of the English Medical Act in 1858, to register in England. Miss Garrett, better known as Mrs. Garrett-Anderson, was the first English lady-doctor, but did not obtain her license from the London Society of Apothecaries until 1865. Since then fifty-five women have received the requisite qualification for practice in the special medical school attached to the Royal Free Hospital. Sixty-one students are now at that school, preparing for usefulness in Great Britain, Ireland, and India, but more particularly in India.

The facts as to the immense value of medical missionaries are forcibly set forth by those whose acquirements and experience entitle them to speak with authority on this subject. Dr. W. H. Thomson, son of the celebrated author of *The Land and the Book*, and President of the Inter-

national Medical Missionary Society in New York, believes that it is through medical missionary agency that the Church will solve the problem of how to reach the people in the East. The professional healer is an irresistible attraction to them. They gladly press around him. If the physician be a female, the doors of the seraglio or zenana readily unclose to her entrance, and woman by woman is introduced to the Saviour of all. Preliminary labor among the masses of the poor and godless in this and other Christian lands is excellent practical training for future labor in heathen fields. Dr. Summers, one of Bishop Taylor's pioneers in Africa, is a graduate of this institution, under its former title of the New York Medical Missionary Society. At Malange, where he stayed a year, he so won the hearts of the people that they supplied him with thirty-six loaded carriers for his eventful journey to the banks of the Congo, where he arrived on the 22d of December, 1886.

Forty years ago, when Dr. Bradley went to Siam, a great priest said to him: "Have you come with your little chisel to undermine our great mountain of Buddhism?" When eight hundred people were dying of cholera every day at Bangkok the doctor stayed with and ministered to them and their friends. Now all Siam welcomes missionaries, but especially medical missionaries. Royalty and commonalty are alike eager to aid their operations. In Teheran, Persia, the medical missionary, Dr. Torrence, was sent for by the prime minister, whom several native physicians had failed to cure, and succeeded in restoring him to health. Three pieces of land, on which to build a hospital, constituted his immediate reward; but infinitely more than that, in his estimation, is the effect his success will have upon the kingdom of Christ. In China an ill-natured crowd was about to drive a party of missionaries back to the river from which they had landed, but were prevented by a gray-headed man, who said: "Let these people alone, they are good people. Thirty years ago I was sick in Canton and these men's friends took care of me and cured me." In Turkey, Mrs. Isabella Davis, who labored there with her late husband, a medical missionary, says that "she met the women alone, and then she saw their sad faces, for they could not show themselves before men. They came to the hospital, but would never have gone to the church. When they heard the story of Jesus and his love, and that there was pardon for their sins and healing for their bodies, they were quite overcome and said: 'Is it true that he died for women?' Two men came three days' journey to Dr. Davis to get their sight. One was made able to see out of one eye, and followed the doctor every-where, almost worshiping him, and intently listening to the Gospel." R. W.

DR. EDWARD McGLYNN AND THE EXCOMMUNICATION.

Dr. McGlynn has been excommunicated and still lives. He has been "liberated," he tells us, and a vigorous use he makes of his freedom. Before the Anti-Poverty Societies, and on the platforms of the large cities, east and west, he is the popular orator of "The New Crusade," and the champion of the rights of independent American Catholics. His followers cleave to him with a devotion which braves all ecclesiastical penalties.

In 1555 Archbishop Cranmer was excommunicated for refusing to obey a summons to Rome. Father McGlynn has precedents in claiming that he is entitled to trial in his own country, and not at Rome. Luther also was summoned to Rome, and for his refusal the faithful were admonished "to arrest and confine him and his confederates." But the bolt against Luther was launched about a century too late. The people of Germany burned the bull, and protected the Reformer. The revolt at that time gave birth to Protestant civilization, and reformed the Catholic Church. It remains to be seen what benefits are in store for mankind from the revolt of to-day. Dr. McGlynn is a man who seems to unite imperiousness of nature with genuine Christian feeling; a man passionate and obstinate, perhaps, but thoroughly honest and thoroughly unselfish.

Upon him the excommunication will have no other effect than to confirm him in his opinions and conduct, but its effect upon his Catholic sympathizers is more doubtful. The most penetrating conviction in the Catholic mind, even in America, is that immeasurable calamity lies in estrangement from the Church. It is to be expected that the more bigoted, not to say devout, Catholics will drop away from him, and if he succeeds in holding any considerable numbers of his fellow-religionists it will only be because our American civilization has honeycombed the Roman system. One extraordinary and unique feature of this McGlynn revolt is the part which women take in it. His most enthusiastic supporters are women; and it would seem that almost the entire female sex of his large parish are with him in his rebellion against the authorities of the Church. That there will result an organized secession from the Church is in no way probable; but that a leaven of individualism and self-assertion has been introduced among American Catholics, which will go far toward making the American Catholic Church as free as the Gallican Church was in the days of Bossuet, is almost sure. For centuries it was the contention of the Church in France that, while primacy over the universal Church is with the Roman pontiff, yet there resides in the national Churches an independence in many details of self-government and of local discipline; papal prerogatives are limited by canons and decrees of general councils, and by the laws of the universal Church. The great Bossuet and the entire clergy of France proclaimed the principles of Gallicanism in "The Declaration of the French Clergy" in 1682, according to which there was practical independence for

the French Church. Among those principles was one that neither the pontiff nor his legates can hear French causes "in the first instance," and that even in cases of appeal he is bound to assign native judges to hear the appeal. It is claimed by Dr. McGlynn and his friends that by canon law he is entitled to trial in New York in a canonically constituted court, and that only after disobedience to the decree of such a court is he amenable to the powers at Rome. Such a trial has been denied him. The mandate from Rome forbidding his participation in social and political controversies he claims is without authority in Catholic law, and an exercise of arbitrary power. In Ireland bishops and priests are leaders in the political movement for "home rule;" and in Germany the Pope himself has ordered his followers to side with Bismarck in his struggle with the Socialists. But if he has transgressed against the order of the Church, he asks for trial at home, and not at Rome. "You have degraded me from my ministry without a hearing," he says; "you have ordered me to retract my opinions on a social question, and then to go to Rome. Lift your suspension; restore me to my parish and ministry, and I will then consider your invitation to Rome."

The effect of the excommunication of Dr. McGlynn on the new Labor Party, which held its convention in Syracuse on the 17th of August, is a question which deeply concerns the politicians. All loyal Catholics must of necessity keep away from any organization which indorses the land theories of Henry George, for it is those land theories which have brought Dr. McGlynn to all his troubles. For the present, the George party must be confined to Protestants and rebellious Catholics. But the chief significance of the McGlynn revolt is as a religious movement. On the Sunday evening following the excommunication thousands of Catholics and sympathizing Protestants gathered in the vicinity of the Academy of Music in New York to give a welcome to the deposed priest. Dr. McGlynn's speech was remarkable in boldness and power. He was as defiant as Hugh Latimer, and as impassioned as Savonarola. If he echoed to any considerable extent the sentiments of Catholics in this country it would seem that the papacy is doomed in America. He began by an appeal to the authority of conscience. The following extracts we take from the speech, as reported in *The Standard* of July 16:

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: It is a signal evidence of the wisdom and goodness of the God whom we adore that amid the perplexities of life, the doubts as to the truth, the anxieties as to duty, the fears for the past and the future, the ruthless tearing of the heart-strings as by a malignant fate, there is yet a clear and simple guide given to every rational being that shall lead him safely through the labyrinth to a perfect deliverance. (Great applause.)

That guide is the voice of conscience, teaching men to apply to themselves a universal law that is written equally upon the hearts of all God's children. This is a natural law that necessarily precedes all revealed law. If this natural monitor did not exist within the breast of each of us, then would revelation appeal to us in vain. (Applause). Our God is a wondrously merciful as well as a wise and loving God, and he will never condemn any one who has followed that guide, even though sometimes he may have mistaken the light.

It is the teaching of Christian philosophy, it is the teaching of Catholic moral theology, that he who follows his conscience, even though it be to error, is ever

obeying the holy will of God. (Applause.) And it is the teaching of right reason, of natural religion, of Christian philosophy, and of the theology of the Catholic schools, which I have learned under the very shadow of the Vatican, that the man who sins against his conscience sins against the Holy Ghost (great applause); and that if any power on earth, even though it be he who sits enthroned in the Vatican (applause), commands a man to do or say aught against his conscience, to obey even that man were to sin against the Holy Ghost. (Uproarious applause.)

In the following noble passage he distinguishes between the false and the true Church, and defines the mission of the latter:

It has become necessary to teach you to distinguish between the blunders, the stupidity, the cupidity, and the actual crimes of a mere ecclesiastical machine (shouts of applause) and that ideal Church of Christ without spot, without wrinkle, the spouse of our Lord and Master, purchased with the terrible price of his blood, whose garments are washed exceeding white, whose teachings have fired the hearts and inspired the minds of saints and seers and sages, and have taken barbarous nations from the woods and from their rude huts to civilize them, and make them the greatest nations of the world! It is necessary that we should learn to distinguish between men and Christ, between the allegiance that we owe to the Christian creed, the profound reverence that we owe to the Christian sacraments, and the very limited obedience that we owe to an authority whose only reason for being is that it may build up and not tear down (applause); that it may, in the language of Christian piety, edify and not disedify; that it may convert men to Christ, and not drive whole nations from him (applause); that it may exemplify in every land and age the humility, patience, charity, and self-sacrifice of the Master; that it may teach men in a selfish age to forget themselves; that it may fire them as did the Master with the enthusiasm of humanity; and that it may, in spite of the cupidity of perverted hearts, teach men to be unselfish, and in spite of the passions that disintegrate human society and separate man from man to-day, cause to prevail the magnificent gospel of the brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God. (Applause.)

Dr. McGlynn finds the Church less respected in Catholic countries than elsewhere:

It is a notorious fact that religion is vanishing fast from nearly every part of the world; that men who are naturally religious—as, in fact, all men are naturally religious ("hear, hear," and applause)—are being alienated from the Churches, and perhaps more from the Catholic Church than any other. (Cries of "hear, hear," and applause.) In so-called Catholic countries you will find a peculiarly satanic hatred of religion—pope, bishop, creed, and Church—that you will find scarcely anywhere else. (Applause.) In this favored land of ours the Catholic priest is, as a rule, an honored and influential member of the community. (Applause.) Men not of his communion treat him with respect and with deference. They respect him as a moral force in the community; they are often glad and thankful to be permitted to contribute to the building of his church; they are glad to have his influence in aid of peace, order, virtue, and sobriety. Go to Catholic countries and you find that the gown of the priest is hated as something unclean. You will find that a priest can get all the room he wants in a railway carriage by simply exhibiting himself and his gown and shovel hat at the door of the compartment. It is a remarkable thing that if you want to see real sincere devotion to the Roman Catholic Church you must go to those countries where the Church has been robbed of her benefices, where she has been impoverished, where she has been reduced to something a little nearer the primitive apostolic simplicity, and where she has been largely free from the influence of Roman cupidity, Roman domination, and Roman diplomacy. (Great applause.)

HUXLEY'S LATEST "SCIENCE AND CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY."

While politics and religion are the two subjects in which the majority of civilized society are always most deeply interested, it is no less certain that the relations between natural science and revealed religion are topics of wide-spread and earnest discussion. As it is now, and has been for centuries, so it is likely to be for centuries to come. Science has no more authoritative, lucid, or forcible expositor than Professor T. H. Huxley; and none of his historical expositions is more judiciously considered than that published in the jubilee work entitled, *The Reign of Queen Victoria.**

"The wonderful increase of industrial production by the application of machinery, the improvement of old technical processes and the invention of new ones, accompanied by an even more remarkable development of old and new means of locomotion and intercommunication," is, in Mr. Huxley's opinion, "the most obvious and the most distinctive feature of the history of civilization during the past fifty years." For "this revolution—for it is nothing less"—the world is largely indebted to "physical science, in consequence of the application of scientific methods to the investigation of the phenomena of the material world." How revealed religion has been affected by this wonderful progress is an inquiry of special importance, not to theologians only, but to people of all classes and pursuits. Huxley is not regarded with favor by churchmen generally. Preachers, whose deliverances would be of more value if they were better acquainted with the subjects whereof they speak, denounce him as "grossly materialistic" in his belief, and malignant in his spirit toward Christianity." He, in retaliation, affirms a necessary struggle between science and religion, in which "extinguished theologians lie like strangled snakes beside the cradled Hercules." The two parties make up "a very pretty quarrel." Each is strong in its own domain, and somewhat likely to come to grief when it invades that of the other. The Huxleyan is professedly of the earth, earthy, and deals principally with physics. The theologian is more immediately concerned with spiritual things, through revelation and consciousness. The scientist writes for the public, and as the theologian is a part of the public he has a perfect right to judge how far alleged scientific truths agree or disagree with his interpretation of the contents of revelation. He is never reluctant to point out such solecisms as those of Dr. John W. Draper, who, in his *History of the Conflict Between Religion and Science*, identified religion with Roman Catholicism, and at the same time asserted the necessary friendliness between science and Protestantism, inasmuch as both rest upon the exercise of the right of private judgment. Nor will he be at all unwilling to dispute Professor Huxley's statement, that the arrest

* *The Reign of Queen Victoria.* A Survey of Fifty Years of Progress. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. Vol. ij.

development of physical science in the Middle Ages was due to "the diversion of men's thoughts from sublunary matters to the problems of the supernatural world suggested by Christian dogma." Any philosophic history of Christianity clearly shows that what he calls "Christian dogma" was really Gnostic or heathen superstition. Christian dogma never fails to encourage physical science, and that for the sufficient reason that it furnishes brilliantly beautiful and telling illustrations of revealed truths.

Without attempting any apology for Professor Huxley's flings at theologians, we must concede that he is an honored, if unconscious, instrument in enlarging human knowledge of divine things. Demonstrated scientific truths are invariably in harmony with correct interpretation of "God's word written." Arrogant assumption is not exclusively proper to the interpreter of either nature or revelation. Both are human, and therefore errant. Disagreement is not between the two records of the Almighty, but between the fallible human expositors. As these are gradually led into the knowledge of all truth, the unity of Jehovah's revelations of himself will be more and more obvious.

Despite Mr. Huxley's grievances by mediæval dogmatists, he is generous enough to state that "the schoolmen considered no one to be properly educated unless he were acquainted with, at any rate, one branch of physical science;" and that "in this respect, it is only just to them to observe that they were far in advance of those who sit in their seats." "The invention of hypotheses based on incomplete inductions," he maintains, "has proved itself to be a most efficient, indeed an indispensable, instrument of scientific progress." If this be true as to the lower forms of divine workmanship, why should it be less true of the higher? Christian theology, quite as much, or even more, than the new natural philosophy, is guided by no "search after practical fruits" in the shape of mere wealth. "That which stirs the pulses of all disciples of the latter," Mr. Huxley says, "is the love of knowledge and the joy of the discovery of the causes of things sung by the old poets—the supreme delight of extending the realm of law and order ever farther toward the unattainable goals of the infinitely great and the infinitely small, between which our little race of life is run." "Nothing great in science has ever been done by men, whatever their power, in whom the divine afflatus of the truth-seeker was wanting." "Physical science is one and indivisible;" its "object is the discovery of the rational order which pervades the universe," its postulates "the objective existence of a material world—the universality of the law of causation (that nothing happens without a cause)—and that the rules or so called 'laws of nature' by which the relation of phenomena is truly defined [are] true for all time."

In all this there is nothing discordant with or unhelpful to that practical biblical Christianity which "rejoiceth in the truth" (1 Cor. xiii, 6), and delights to trace law to a Lawgiver and order to a Ruler whose dominion is co-extensive with the universe, to "the high and lofty One that inhabiteth eternity, whose name is Holy" (Isa. lvii, 15); yea, the divine-

human Christ, "the fullness of him that filleth all in all." Eph. i, 23. The psalmist voices the reverent thirst for knowledge of the orthodox believer in the words: "I meditate on all thy works; I muse on the works of thy hands" (Psa. cxliii, 5), as truly as does St. Paul his maturest convictions: "To us there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him; and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him." 1 Cor. viii, 6. "By him all things consist" (Col. i, 16); and his workings in the designed sequences of causes and effects are like himself, "the same yesterday, and to-day, and forever." Heb. xiii, 8.

Professor Huxley recognizes the influence of revelation in what he regards as the three greatest achievements of physical science, namely, the doctrines of the molecular constitution of matter, the conservation of energy, and evolution, by saying that "it would be hard to overrate the influence of metaphysical, and even of theological, considerations upon the development of all three." Each of these doctrines, so far as it is verifiably sound, impressively illustrates the creative, preservative, and ever-ascendant operation of "the blessed and only Potentate." "Theoretically, at any rate," he tells us, "the transmutability of the elements is a verifiable scientific hypothesis." We are not sorry to know that he holds this belief, quadrating as it does with the revealed doctrine of the "new heavens and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness" (2 Pet. iii, 13), and that Christ will "change our vile body, that it may be fashioned like unto his glorious body, according to the working whereby he is able even to subdue all things unto himself." Phil. iii, 21.

In the following sentence we fail to see any thing "grossly materialistic:" "A living body is a machine by which energy is transformed in the same sense as a steam-engine is so, and all its movements, molar or molecular, are to be accounted for by the energy which is supplied to it. The phenomena of consciousness which arise, along with certain transformations of energy, cannot be interpolated into the series of these transformations, inasmuch as they are not motions to which the doctrine of the conservation of energy applies. And, for the same reason, they do not necessitate the using up of energy; a sensation has no mass, and cannot be conceived to be susceptible of movement. That a particular molecular motion does give rise to a state of consciousness is experimentally certain; but the how and why of the process are just as inexplicable as in the case of the communication of kinetic energy by impact." In other words, the phenomena of consciousness are not identical with transformations of energy, and compel belief in the presence of spirit immanent in organized matter and yet totally distinct from it.

Mr. Huxley knows of no conditions under which life can come from any thing but life, nor do we believe that he ever will. His hypothesis of evolution—that higher forms of animal and plant life are evolved from lower—is probably one that will pass into the category of wild guesses, which he insists have done such royal service to Kepler, Newton, and other great philosophers. Evolution of plan, in the sense that the plan

of a man is higher than that of a mollusk, is apparent in all God's work; but that a mollusk may, through countless ages, evolve itself into a man, is an hypothesis as foundationless as the Ptolemaic theory—that is, so far as we are able to judge of facts. Mr. Huxley retorts on disbelief in his evolutionary hypothesis by a fleer at Genesis as "pentateuchal mythology," and at "the controlling and perverting influence of theology." What theology? That founded on the eventually correct interpretation of the Bible, out of which "new truth" continually breaks, or the theology of the papacy—pontifical or Protestant? The first, so far as hitherto attained, has, according to his own words, and to the affirmations of Draper, powerfully aided the development of physical science. The fact is that true scientific discovery corrects human interpretation, and true interpretation corrects wrong scientific hypothesis. Consciously or unconsciously, seekers of truth in every department are working toward the same end. Thomas H. Huxley, notwithstanding his eloquent irritability, is an invaluable laborer, and nothing is surer than that every truth he finds in the realm of nature will be only a part of that wider, eternal truth revealed in the Scriptures of grace. R. W.

FOREIGN, RELIGIOUS AND LITERARY.

PROTESTANTISM IN FRANCE still has its struggles in regard to the basis of its faith. In the year 1866 the long strife between Orthodox and Liberals rose to its highest point, and there followed a division in the General Pastoral Conference. The Liberals withdrew and formed a special Conference, and the Orthodox formulated a statute in the following words: "In matters of faith the Conference rests on the sovereign authority of the Sacred Scriptures and the apostolic writings as the summary expression of the works and miracles of God as found in the Holy Writ."

This Conference of the Reformed, Lutheran, and Free Churches has now lasted for twenty years, but of late it has much decreased in interest. Many attributed this fact to the narrow boundaries in which it moved, and have felt that more liberty would bring more life into their discussions; and thus in the late Conference an effort was made to drop the said statute. But the majority resolved to retain it, and, therefore, there is no probability for a time of a closer union of the two parties.

The special conferences of the Lutherans and the Free Church passed off in harmony, and the anniversaries of the various Christian endeavors were encouraging and gratifying. The Missionary Board reported the largest income ever received, nearly $100,000. About 200,000 francs were appropriated for a new mission house, 20,000 for a new mission on the Congo, and the deficit, which last year was quite large, has been reduced to a very small sum.

A communication concerning the elementary schools of the Protestants was less gratifying. It has been found necessary to close the normal

school for elementary teachers—an institution that has existed for about fifty years, and has sent out a large number of faithful and capable Christian teachers. The cause is simply the competition of the State. The laicization of elementary instruction has simply abolished the Protestant schools. The normal school has been deprived of the annual stipend so long accorded by the State, and nothing is left but to close its doors. The future will show whether in this way a service has been rendered to the cause of pure education. The authorities are now playing fast and loose with all educational interests, which in fact never know where they stand; each new ministry revises the budget for educational purposes, and sports with the whole matter in any way that will secure the most favor for the moment.

The Social Troubles in Belgium are becoming truly alarming, and threaten great disaster to the State. The authorities seem at a stand-still in the matter of relief, and are, it would seem, trying to find a remedy in political concessions. The demands of the masses are, suspension of the existing constitution, universal suffrage, a constituent assembly, separation of Church from State, etc. The extension of the right of suffrage to the masses would indicate that the government would give them a boon, but the condition accompanying it, namely, the capacity to read and write, greatly narrows its sphere. The Catholic Church of the country, in its work of Christian love and care has, carefully confined this art to the few. It therefore almost seems as if the clerical ministry were indifferent to the fate of the laboring class, thinking to alleviate it through the Church, and not through the State. It has long been the boast of the Church that it can contend more successfully with these social troubles than any other power. But the present condition of things in that country where the Church has always had the fullest sway greatly belies this assertion. One never hears that the Belgian clergy are endeavoring to sharpen the conscience of the wealthier classes toward the sufferings of the poor, or would train them to a higher moral perception of their duty to the demands of a lower humanity. All the wealthy classes of Belgium, Catholic as well as Liberal, seem inclined to combine to retain all the political power which they possess, and are not the least inclined to soften their hearts toward their poorer and suffering countrymen. They would rather punish with the lash of the scorpion, and starve them into submission, than suggest any measure of conciliation.

All right-minded men must, of course, condemn the revolutionary and anarchical measures of the Belgian workingmen, who can hope for no melioration of their condition in their way; but the conduct of employers, political rulers, and the priests has been quite as worthy of condemnation. In their necessity the people have been misled and mistreated, and while Belgium has been fast growing in importance in the industrial world, its people have been sinking very low in the moral scale.

The Catholic Church, which boasts so much of being the only saviour in social troubles, shows in Belgium just what it is; namely, not the servant

of God, who preaches the Gospel to the poor and the rich, but the representative of unholy desires and the servant of mammon, which does not hesitate to make common cause with the oppressors of the poor and lowly. Of course there are many men in Belgium who are sincere in their Christianity, but their voices are not heard, and they are opposed on all sides. It is far more easy to pretend to practice Christianity than in reality so to do; but the present generation will erelong learn that for all the sorrows in the world there is but one Physician. For such immense industries as those of Belgium there can be no prosperity without even-handed justice; and a state that rests on such a social foundation as now prevails must hasten to its ruin. Every earnest Christian man in that land must see this, but the great trouble is how to begin a reform while that Church is in power which has largely been the cause of the unfortunate situation.

The Evangelical Union in Italy does not seem to make a great deal of progress, and we think the wrong parties are blamed for the failure of the plan thus far. It is generally believed that the Free Church is at fault in this matter, whereas the trouble comes clearly from the Waldenses. By a special commission, the two churches in 1885 agreed on a basis of union. This agreement, it is true, was only a preliminary measure, but it was made by the five most prominent members of each Church, and made unanimously, and was to serve as a basis for all other negotiations regarding which they would legislate.

In this statute of union it was distinctly declared by both sides that the name of the united Churches should be, the "Evangelical Church of Italy." In the general convocation of 1865 of the Free Churches this so-called combination statute was unanimously accepted. But the Waldensian Synod of 1866 made striking changes in this statute, and then adopted it by a one-sided vote, as the Free Churches were not represented. To those who knew the relations of the Free Churches in Italy it was clear that this movement would kill the measure, on account, of the inadmissible condition that the combined Church should bear the name of the Waldensian Church, instead of that of the Evangelical Church.

Now what would the Waldensians have thought had the Free Church, on the contrary, coolly rejected the proposition of the commission, and adopted for the union the name of the Free Church of Italy? It was almost superfluous for the president of the commission, Dr. Prochet, to inform the synod that such alterations would render the acceptance of the measure impossible on the part of the Free Churches. These latter are by no means willing to lose their identity entirely by being swallowed up in the Waldensian Church. The name of Union would be equally fair to all; that of Waldensian would be manifestly misleading, to say the least. This movement has caused considerable feeling in Berlin, where the Waldensians often appeal for help, and will generally make their cause unpopular outside of Italy, whence they draw much of their financial aid.

And the matter is made the more grievous because it is presented as

a slight difference, while it is in reality an insuperable obstacle, as the other Protestant Churches in Italy will not consent to be swallowed up in the Church that contains the least aggressive life, and depends for its support so largely on funds from foreign sources.

Now under such circumstances to take the position that the Free Churches are the ones who are delaying the union is absurd. It is not, therefore, surprising that the General Convention of the Free Churches, in their late meeting in Florence, passed the following resolution: "Having heard the report of the special commission regarding the changes made by the Waldensian Synod, and duly considered them, we greatly regret that the union should be delayed by them, as we must remain by the decision of the General Assembly of 1885; and we sincerely express the wish that these obstacles may be removed, and that the two Churches may be united at as early a date as possible." It now remains to be seen whether the next Waldensian Synod will retrace its steps, and make a union possible.

"HAIL, PRINCE OF PEACE!" is the cry to greet the pope on the celebration of his jubilee, according to Father Tosti, the well-known and very learned abbot of the abbey of Mount Cassino, who seems now to rise like the prophet of old, but with the same cry applied to mortal man, and not to the coming Saviour. The peace that the abbot looks forward to with enthusiastic delight is that between the holy pontiff and the Italian monarchy, when Leo is to be borne, according to him, on the shoulders of the entire nation, and when the cry of "*Ave Princeps Pacis!*" will resound from the mouths of thirty millions of Italians. In the words of Tosti, "We shall see miracles at the jubilee of the holy father. Providence will inspire worldly power, and the filial love of an entire nation will offer its heart to the pope as to an invincible rock. We shall see the palanquin of the pontiff borne on the shoulders of thirty thousand Italians. We shall see Leo XIII. borne so high that on looking down he will see no more conflicts or discord. His eyes will perceive the portals of a new realm, namely, the rule over all consciences that have become tired of war and thirst after peace."

These words of the hoary abbot of Mount Cassino, which he sends forth into the land from his lonely eminence, are enthusiastic and full of warmth; but with all this they are nothing more than the voice of the preacher in the desert, and they will find genuine echo neither in the Vatican nor among the thirty millions. If the abbot of the mount had uttered the warning prophecy that the thirty millions of Italians on the occasion of the jubilee would lay at his feet the former Holy See, or even a part of it, this voice would have been welcome, and would have brought to the venerable monk a new dignity. But Father Tosti says not such things; in his soaring words echoes not the expectation that Leo on that grand occasion will find the enthusiasm and the offerings of the heart so grateful that he will abandon the hope of the recovery of the temporal power, and thereby solemnly indorse the situation created by the "occupation" of Rome.

Father Tosti, in his lofty cloister, has hoped for many a day that the Vatican would finally comprehend the expression of a kingdom that is not of this world. But this has been a vain hope. Even Pius IX., who knew the abbot well, once said to him, "You will never be made a cardinal; aye, not even a sacristan." But what of the thirty millions of Italians? When the pope sees the nation at his feet, will he not be overpowered by it? Will his heart not be so deeply touched that he will exclaim, "Children, you have conquered; you shall have peace; I renounce all temporal power?"

A Bitter Cry is going up in France from many Christian hearts in regard to the demoralization of the young. It is claimed that this is largely caused by the godless schools, showing how hard it is for a people accustomed to a union between Church and State to pass over into different relations. The greatest violence is in this way done to the Church, and the Protestant pastors are uttering painful complaints.

Legally, Sunday and Thursday are free in the schools, that the children may on these days enjoy special religious instruction. But the City Council of Paris runs a continual competition with the Church by arranging for these days all sorts of military parades and demonstrations, theatrical performances for the children, visits to expositions, etc., so that their time is in this way entirely absorbed. Thus the young come finally to be confirmed without the least instruction in the Bible and its history. Moses, Abraham, and David are to them unknown names. In matter of morals the children are totally neglected. They have no idea of the fear of God, and are not accustomed to prayer or any religious exercises. As they thus come to their religious care-takers for examination they know absolutely nothing of all those things required by the Church before confirmation.

Thus neglected by the State, the Church can depend only on the influence of the family. But the character of family life in France, especially in the large cities, is, alas! too well known. This sad state of things causes alarm to the Church, and its loyal servants are now making a supreme effort to overcome this modern evil by increased zeal and sacrifice, and are uttering the cry of alarm to parents to open their eyes to the danger.

The German Universities are being stirred up by the demand for reform. A professor in Breslau has just issued a bulky brochure entitled *Faults in German Universities, and the Means of Amelioration.* His complaints seem to be made in honest frankness, and his suggestions are characterized by perception and good sense. He complains, in the first place, of the looseness in the opening and closing of the semesters. Every German student knows how long it is before the full corps of professors gets into running order, and how soon some of them close their work. In this way it is quite often the case that a full term of work cannot be obtained.

He also complains of a great deal of carelessness in the matter of graduation; many students get through certain studies with very little attendance on the lectures. And again, he calls attention to the inequality of the salaries, and the uncertainty in many cases of obtaining the students' fees which are depended on. He calls also for the more rigorous sifting out of old men, and the advance of young ones with more vigor and enthusiasm, and with less of the professional rut. He claims that as a rule the professors should be pensioned at their sixty-fifth year, barring very exceptional cases of efficiency.

He very strenuously insists on the *liberty of teaching* (*Lehrfreiheit*) as the palladium of the German universities, and would have no teacher interfered with either by Church or State. But a thoughtful man will soon see that this absolute liberty to teach what and as one pleases may be attended with much danger. The German savants have a somewhat romantic idea of this peculiar kind of liberty. We would suggest to the author of the above criticism that he might well have called for a few restrictions on the unlimited carousing and dueling of some of the students.

CENTRAL AFRICA is painted in no flattering colors by a recent German traveler, especially Gaboon and the French settlements in the neighborhood. Gaboon itself is rather attractive in appearance in comparison with other settlements on the coast, but he who would judge of the prosperity of the place by its looks would be much deceived. For nearly fifty years this settlement has existed, and for many years it was very prosperous, but now is so demoralized that a few more government taxes and restrictions will cause the close of the factories and the retirement of the traders.

The French factories are dirty and neglected, and are the picture of sloth and disorder, while the Portuguese are, if possible, still worse. The German and English set better examples, but even these seem to feel that their day has departed. The truth is, that the old system of factories on the coast carried on by certain parties under the shield of their governments has had its fortunes and its day. The advent of the missionaries and the independent traders, who compete with one another and introduce modern modes of trading, has taught the negroes new lessons, and made them more careful whom they trust.

The natives all along this coast have been greatly demoralized by intercourse with the whites, such as they were, and as a result the most of them have been pushed back out of the villages, where are now found in this region scarcely more than a thousand souls. These are a low and abandoned class, mostly; they are deceitful, thieving, and wholly immoral, and totally ruined by the wholesale use of the worst of rum. It is well, indeed, for all this coast that the days of the slave-trade and the slave-dealers are past, for it was fast becoming a desert.

"SAVE THE YOUNG!" is also the cry in Germany. Church and State, and voluntary benevolence, are joining hands to assist in the effort to res-

cue the young from the dangers that surround them. This work must be vigorously done by all classes of the people if hosts of these are not to fall a prey to the thousand religious and moral dangers that surround them. This task has been systematically begun by the spiritual director of the famous institution in Halle, founded mainly in the interest of the orphans and abandoned children.

This good man, whose calling gives him much opportunity to know of the needs and dangers of childhood, brought the matter before the annual convocation of the friends of home missions in the province of Saxony, and a large audience listened to him with rapt attention. The result was that the Provincial Committee took charge of the work, and has issued a call entitled, "Care for the Children," directed mainly to the friends of Protestant youth of the land. The pastors of the respective parishes are invited to take the lead in this effort, and to carry it into schools and families, and wherever, in their judgment, they see a field and pressing need for labor. It is hoped that this appeal may excite many Christian people to find an interest in the movement and give it active assistance.

JERUSALEM is extending her boundary line materially. The heights that extend to the west from the Jaffa gate are being rapidly covered with new structures, that even now extend over a greater space than that of the city within the walls. The Abyssinians believe that they and the Russo-Greek Church alone possess the true faith, and should, therefore, exclusively rule the earth. In the plains of Sharon their two hosts are to combine, their two rulers are there to take the sacrament together, and then to proceed to divide the world between them in order to subject it to the faith.

The tourists of the last season to Jerusalem were more numerous than ever before. They bring money and service into the land, though few of them tarry for more than a week. The pilgrims, numbering about thirty thousand, require a strong police force to keep them in order. The English Protestant bishop is now permanently settled there, and the Church does not require a German bishop in addition. In proportion as means flow into the land the desire to build grows stronger. Russia is still working at its mighty tower on the Mount of Olives, and proposes, it is said, to make it a hundred yards high. If this should be done, this will be the highest structure in the Orient.

THE RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT is becoming more and more bitter in its endeavor to cut off any accessions from the "*rotten West*," as it sarcastically calls all European lands. Following the ukase which excludes the German language from the schools of the Baltic Provinces, comes another which forbids to foreigners the acquisition of land in Poland. The Poles and Lithuanians of the German Empire are rudely struck by this measure, as well as many Polish Austrian families from Galicia. The Poles of Austria propose to bring this matter before the Austrian Council, but this will do no good, as St. Petersburg is wedded to its idols, and seldom listens to

advice or appeals. The Poles may be thankful if this decree is not also made retrospective, driving out many that are now settled there with business and families. It would not be a difficult matter for Russia to find a pretext for this and the confiscation of their property.

The Jews of Algiers must be a hopeless lot. Pastor Krieger, who is now working among these people in Oran, declares that if those in that region are not now converted they never will be. They are surrounded on all sides with New Testaments, but they trample on them. The following incident occurred there lately, according to the above authority: An English society for the conversion of the children of Israel sent thousands of Hebrew Testaments thither. The Church was for days simply filled with boxes. A special messenger was also sent to distribute these books freely among the Jews. But how were they received? The Jews took the books; they even asked for them, but mostly in order to tear them to pieces before the eyes of those who gave them to them. Therefore many of the streets and squares of the Jewish quarters are covered with the leaves, which are trodden under foot!

From Japan there comes a strange story to German journals, which runs thus: Great excitement has been caused here by the common worship of Buddha on the part of heathens and Christians, on the occasion of the interment of the wife of the governor of Nagasaki in the great Buddha temple. A Christian missionary was not ashamed to devote to the deceased a European funeral discourse, and Christian ladies and gentlemen threw, in common with the Japanese heathen, incense into the burning censer on the altar, folded their hands, and made low bows to the honor of the spirits of the deceased. The English consul was at the head of this company. Only two of those present regarded the protest of a Christian missionary, and refrained from joining in the service. On the following Sunday the English missionary, from his pulpit, raised his protest against this violation of the name of Christ from his confessed supporters, declaring it an insult to all native-born Christians.

MISSIONARY INTELLIGENCE.

Progress among Armenians in Turkey. — Here and there in Turkey an Armenian church has become so liberalized as to listen with gladness to the American missionaries. The priests are the last to receive the pure Gospel; but even they, in some instances, show that their prejudices are not proof against all influences. In Zeitoon, which is in the Central Turkey mission of the American Board, an Armenian priest who has become a leader in what is called the "Lovist" movement—a movement toward reform, begun chiefly under the influence of Protestant teaching—called

on the Rev. Henry Marden, the missionary, and invited him and his helpers to take charge of the preaching services to be held in the Armenian Church Sunday noon. Mr. Marden responded favorably, and preached freely to a crowded audience of a thousand or more on "Repentance." A preacher from Marash, who accompanied him, followed with a discourse on the importance of immediate repentance. The service was three hours long, but men and women, many of whom were of a very rough type, listened intently, and the only restless persons were some Armenian priests who sat near the door. The priest who was in charge of the church expressed his approval of the doctrines set forth by the preachers. Shortly after Mr. Marden was again invited to preach to an Armenian congregation, this time in what is called the "robbers' ward" of the city. The church was packed, and the Moslem governor, judge, and other city representatives were present out of curiosity. Mr. Marden read from a Turkish Bible handed him by the priest, and took for his subject "The Brazen Serpent." The people, many of whom were outlaws, listened with rapt attention for nearly three hours. Writing of the service Mr. Marden says:

> Zeitoon, and especially this ward, has been for generations a nest of outlaws, and a few years ago was saved from destruction at the hands of the exasperated Turks only by the mediation of the missionaries. Persistent efforts were made to turn the prestige we had gained to good account in preaching the Gospel of peace. The missionary, Bible in hand, followed the outlaws to their homes and to their hiding-places in the mountains, with many entreaties and prayers, and though nearly all kept their promises of good behavior, yet, as to spiritual results, it was like sowing seed upon the dry rock.
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> Now there were here in church the "unwashed" of all grades, twelve hundred to fifteen hundred of them. The better class were there too. The priests only were missing. This reform movement has left them far in the rear. The associations of the place and the strange surroundings, though almost bewildering, were peculiarly inspiring as I tried to point this multitude of sinners to Christ and bade them look and live. The opportunity of preaching in this church and to this audience was a rich reward for all the weary climbing in past years over the Zeitoon crags and rocks to sow the good seed.

A remarkable change has taken place in the town. Quarreling, drunkenness, and profanity have almost ceased, and the quiet of a New England town has come to Zeitoon on Sundays. Daily services were held in the mission church, and many sermons were preached in the open air, and not a few conversations had with outlaws by the road-side. The Armenians in Harpoot have opened a school near the mission college, and an order from the patriarch directs Armenians to patronize the school, and not to attend the Protestant schools. The latter have not, however, lost any scholars. The college has four hundred and fifty students. Mr. Robert Chambers, of Erzeroom, writing of a tour he recently made among the villages of the Passen and Alashgerd districts, says he found most cheering evidences in Karazabar, although there is no mission there, of the spread of evangelical doctrines. He writes:

> We were invited to preach in the churches, and were received, not as strangers, but as brethren. The state of this whole plain is peculiar. Our books are read

every-where and our principles accepted. Priests who defend all the rites of the old Church are laughed at and called dotards. The churches are empty. Nobody believes in the existing state of things in the Church, but nobody is ready to make a stand for reform. . . . In one village, where we remained two days, the priest and some of the leading people would not be separated from our company. They came early in the morning and stayed with us till late at night. The priest took his turn in reading and explaining the Scriptures, which, however, he never does in the church service. He got into discussion with the priest of a neighboring town, an old man. The old man defended pilgrimages, picture-worship, intercession of saints, etc., and was scandalized to hear the Protestant view from the young priest's lips. The old man returned to his town in great grief and related the affair sadly to the teachers of the Gregorian school. These laughed at him, and told him the young priest was right. But none of these people have any idea of becoming Protestant. The national spirit is too strong and the spiritual life too sluggish for that.

THE WESLEYAN MISSIONARY SOCIETY'S ANNIVERSARY.—The anniversary of the Wesleyan Missionary Society this year marked the close of the second jubilee of Wesleyan missions, and the report gives a review of the development since 1837, the end of the first fifty years, the year also of the coronation of the queen. The century of the Society closes with this record of the present strength of the Society's work: 1,959 circuits, 10,919 chapels and preaching places, 2,592 ministers and missionaries, and 430,247 members. At the close of 1836 there were 51 missionaries, 143 catechists and day-school teachers, 51 Sunday-school teachers and local preachers, and 3,196 members. On the same field, together with others since occupied, there are now reported 324 missionaries, 1,825 catechists and day-school teachers, 3,651 Sunday-school teachers and local preachers, and 31,268 members, with 4,097 on trial. This does not include Australia and some of the South Sea missions now under the care of the Australasian Missionary Society. The income last year was $715,910, including $39,610 collected by the ladies' auxiliary. The Society's debt is upward of $53,000. One of the most interesting speeches delivered at the anniversary was by the Rev. G. M'Kenzie Cobban, of India. He said in the old days government officials and others were in the habit of denying that any Hindus had become Christians. But every body now knows that in the Madras Presidency alone there are a million native Christians. The critics admit it; but they say, "Your Christians are but the dust and rubbish of Hindu society." It is true that the majority are from the lower castes. The first missionaries offered the Gospel to the higher castes, but they would not accept it, so they turned to the degraded and oppressed, and they accepted Christ gladly. "Out of the so-called dust and rubbish of Hindu society—out from among those lowest classes, who have had their brains well-nigh trampled out of them by centuries of cruelty, who have had their hearts steeled against the classes above and around them—out of such materials as these God has raised up Christians who will bear comparison with ourselves." Mr. Cobban then went on to speak of the intelligence and character of Hindu Christians. He showed, by government authority and by statistics, the high estimate put upon Hindu Christians, as above Mussulman and Hindu, in intelligence.

"Out of every hundred Brahmans who appear for the B. A. degree there are thirty-five that pass, and out of every hundred Christians there are thirty-six." The Christians, originally from the lowest castes, now come from all castes, from the Chandalan to the Brahman. As to the character of native Christians Mr. Cobban said he inquired of the chief police commissioner of Madras who were the best and who were the worst people in Madras, a city of 400,000 inhabitants. He was told the best people were not the Hindus nor the Mussulmans, but the Christians. If all the people of that presidency were Christians there would be, according to government statistics, twelve thousand fewer criminals than now. Christians have there the respect of all classes, and are trusted where others are not trusted. Said Mr. Cobban:

These are simple facts, which should have their weight with sensible men. There are other points which illustrate what I have said. I find, for instance, that our native Christians are invited by Brahmans to join those political and other associations which are springing up all over our Madras Presidency. This shows that the most intelligent Hindus in the country feel that Christianity is a power which they are bound to respect, and whose friendship it may be well to court for the time to come. And our native Christians in India feel that they must not be second to any class of men in the community; that in every noble movement which has for its aim the uplifting of India, whether it be a social or educational movement, or even a political one, their place is at the very front; and I have no doubt but that they will take it in due time.

Speaking of what has been done for the relief of oppressed village tenants, he said:

In one village I had some ninety or ninety-five ready for baptism, but, as usual, the landowners, finding that the tenants were becoming Christians, threatened eviction and other kinds of distress. Many of them drew back in fear; twenty or twenty-five, however, remained firm. The landlords then came down upon the village belonging to the tenants, plowed every patch of ground, and covered it with huts, so that we might not put down a chapel or school. We had to appeal against this oppression. I thought that the matter must be fought out some day, and I had better fight it out once for all; so I wrote to the collector, the government official, a long account of the whole affair, stating how the ground and rights of the tenants had been interfered with. Those people suffered persecution which sorely tried them. At times the sweat was on their brows as they hesitated whether to go back or remain. But God has kept them firm, and now they are a strong and united Church in that little village. The caste villagers all over South India have generally regarded the land belonging to the non-caste villagers as their own; and if the non-caste tenant has troubled them they have driven him from his house and from his land a beggar. This has been their great privilege. Strictly speaking, they have no right to do this. According to government usage, the caste farmers have no right to persecute the lower caste who are their tenants. But such persecution is a relic of the old days of slavery, and it has been a hard matter to change such a state of things. But our Christians stood firm. The result was that the government issued a charter of rights protecting the lower castes, saying that the caste villagers henceforth could not interfere with the lower castes or their lands on any pretext whatever. That charter of rights, won by the patience of a few Methodists in a little village, is a charter for millions of people in India. Before one month had passed I heard in the collector's office that men in many villages, who had grown courageous, had challenged the justice of the castes in question, and of men above them, and had won their causes in the district courts.

Church Union in Japan.—The Episcopalian missionaries in Japan, representing three distinct societies—the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the Church Missionary Society, and the Board of Missions of the Protestant Episcopal Church—having formed a sort of union between themselves, sent a communication recently to the Synod of the United Church of Christ (Reformed and Presbyterian), and to the other Christian bodies in Japan, inclosing a series of resolutions passed at a conference of the three societies held in Osaka, Feb. 8, and inviting correspondence on the subject of union. The first resolution expresses the desire of the conference "for the establishment in Japan of a Christian Church which, by imposing no non-essential conditions of communion, shall include as many as possible of the Christians of this country." The second resolution named a committee on the part of the conference, including the two bishops, to enter into communication with any committee authorized to act for other Christian bodies in Japan. The third resolution directed that the resolutions be communicated to the secretaries of the various Christian bodies in Japan. Bishop Bickersteth, chairman of the conference, sent the resolutions to Dr. William Imbrie, secretary of the Council of the Synod of the Church of Christ, with copies of two sermons of his own. Dr. Imbrie, in replying on behalf of the Council, called the attention of Bishop Bickersteth to the wording of the first resolution as admitting of two quite different interpretations, and asked whether the Synod was to understand that the Episcopal Conference desired to establish in Japan a Church which shall admit individuals to membership without requiring of them any thing beyond a credible profession of Christianity, or whether the end sought was the establishment of a single ecclesiastical organization, which shall include in its standards of doctrine and government nothing but what is essential to constitute a true Church of Christ. With the sentiment of the first interpretation, wrote Dr. Imbrie, the council is in hearty accord. The second interpretation commits nobody. It might be adopted by a college of cardinals. All turns upon the meaning attached to the word "essential." Referring to Bishop Bickersteth's sermons accompanying the resolutions, Dr. Imbrie finds that they treat as among "essentials" the episcopal form of government, the rite of confirmation, and the sacraments, and he asks whether the bishops and clergy of the Osaka Conference regard the episcopate as an "essential," whether they acknowledge the Presbyterian Church as a true Church of Christ, and whether they recognize the validity of Presbyterian ordination, and whether they would receive the sacrament at the hands of Presbyterian ministers. He reminds the Episcopal Committee that, while the Synod has appointed a committee of conference, there can be no meeting except upon terms of absolute ecclesiastical equality. The Episcopal Committee made reply as follows:

> We desire to draw your attention to the fact that the resolution of our Osaka Conference refers to *Japan;* to the formation of a *Japanese* Church; that we are looking to the future and not to the past. Our expressed desire is the formation of a Church in this land which shall include the Japanese Christians connected

both with yourselves and ourselves. May we not hope that this may be accomplished if we can meet together with a readiness on both sides to seek this end?

We are not ignorant of the grave ecclesiastical and other difficulties involved, but we hope that, through the aid of God's Holy Spirit, we may in mutual conference discover some means of solving them, at least for this land.

The correspondence closes with a letter from Dr. Imbrie expressing regret that no answer has been returned to the inquiries raised by the Council's former communication. If the Episcopal Committee can accept the terms proposed by the Council, namely, treat the episcopate as nonessential, and recognize the validity of Presbyterian ordination and organization, the committee of the United Church of Christ will be glad to meet them. This practically ends the effort at union in this direction.

Union, however, is making progress in other directions. A basis of union has been agreed upon between the Synod of the Church of Christ, which already unites three denominations, and the Congregational Churches. This basis, from which is to be elaborated an ecclesiastical system and doctrinal standards, according to the lines agreed upon, has been approved both by the Synod and Conference of Congregational Churches, and each body has appointed a committee to work out details of government and doctrine. When this work is completed it is to be submitted for ratification to the Congregational Churches and the Synod. If approved by both the union will be consummated. On the question of doctrine there was no great difficulty in agreeing upon the basis. The real difficulty came in settling upon the character of the polity for the united Church. There could hardly be much compromise; either the Congregational or Presbyterian system must be selected, and the agreement was upon the latter. The outline leaves individual churches free to manage their internal affairs, either directly or by a *shokwai* (session); it provides for three assemblies: District Conference or Presbytery, Great Conference or Synod, General Conference or Assembly. The District Conference, which is to consist of one pastor and one delegate from each church within its bounds, is to organize new churches, license, ordain, and discipline ministers, and decide appeals from a session or a church. Three or more District Conferences form a Great Conference, the members of which shall be the pastors and representatives of the churches. It is to have the direction of evangelistic work and decide appeals originating in the District Conference. The General Conference is to be composed of ministers and laymen from all the District Conferences, and is to decide constitutional questions and appeals originating in the Great Conference, and is to have the general care of interests common to the whole Church. There is not to be a system of appeals, but a single appeal only—from the session or church to the District Conference, from the District Conference to the Great Conference, from the Great Conference to the General Conference. Appeal in every case is allowed only to the next higher body, and must there stop. As to the standards, ministers are to be required to subscribe to the Apostles' Creed, the Nicene Creed, and the Nine Articles of the Evangelical Alliance, and to approve the Westminister and Heidelberg Catechisms

and Plymouth Declaration for substance of doctrine. The prospect of union on this basis appears to be good, and doubtless the Synod of the United Church of Christ will soon include also the Reformed (German) Church mission, and the mission of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church.

It is interesting to note that, according to the statement of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the organization of the Episcopal Japanese Christians into a native Church was pressed by the natives themselves. The archbishop had counseled caution and delay in proceeding to organize a native Church. But the Japanese are so independent, and possess in so large a degree the gift of self-government, that "the missionaries found that it was impossible to continue the mission further unless they allowed the framing of constitutions and canons for the native Christians. A synod met," continues the archbishop, "consisting of native Christians on the one side, and on the other of the missionaries of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the Church Missionary Society, and of the American Church, who all work together with the greatest harmony. After two days of separate conference they met together and sat continually until they had removed from their plans every thing that was likely to be a bone of contention in the future, and safely provided that they would always be in communion with the English and American Churches; but they saw quite clearly that there were things in our formularies which had nothing to do with them, and that there were others which would have to be supplied to meet their own needs. So now there existed, on the other side of the world, what they called, not 'The Church of Japan,' for it was pointed out to them that the title might give offense to other Christian Churches working there, and also to the civil government; and so, with their wonted ingenuity, they did not call themselves 'The Church of Japan,' nor 'The Japanese Church,' but, according to the perfectly understood grammar of their own tongue, 'Japan Church.'"

The Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions hopes to reach the million dollar line. The General Assembly recommended that this amount be raised this year, partly for the purpose of clearing away the debt of the Board and partly for the benefit of the missions, which have suffered somewhat the past two or three years for want of larger means. The Assembly took advanced ground in its deliverance on the subject of union presbyteries in foreign fields. This deliverance declares that in order to build up independent national Churches in foreign fields, holding to the Reformed doctrine and Presbyterian polity, the more complete identification of the missionaries of the Church with native ministers and churches is of vital importance, and needs to be pressed; that where union presbyteries can be formed the further organization of presbyteries in connection with the Assembly should be discouraged; that missionaries should become full members of union presbyteries so far as possible, and sever their connection with home presbyteries.

As a Result of the establishment of mission stations at Bandawe and Angoniland on or near Lake Nyassa great changes have been wrought in the life of the people. Thousands have gathered about the two stations, because of the safety assured them, and settled down to a quiet life. Formerly they were warriors, particularly the Angoni, and lived by plundering other tribes. They say the missionaries have made them cowards, for they dare not go out and plunder as they used to do. They have great respect for the missionaries, but they will not acknowledge God.

The English Baptist Missionary Society has twenty-two missionaries on the Congo, and has not lost one the past year. Most of them write that they never had better health. The society has three stations on the Lower Congo, including San Salvador, and two on the Upper Congo. The Congo mission has a strong hold upon the Baptists of England. Responses to appeals for funds for it are always prompt and cordial, and the struggling and obscure give as freely and gladly as the more favored.

Dr. J. W. Lambuth, of the mission of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in Japan, writing of a remarkable awakening in Hiroshima, describes a very interesting scene in the mission church in that city at a meeting called for the benefit of the probationers, of whom there were forty-eight. After the opening exercises Dr. Lambuth proceeded to question each of the probationers as to their faith and what they were willing to do for the Master. The first man was a physician. "Dr. Sugiye, are you willing to give up your *saké* (wine) and observe the Sabbath?" He hesitated and said he had just begun to practice, and if he refused to take *saké* it would ruin his practice. "Well, that settles the question with you." "Mr. Mito, can you give up your *saké* and observe the Sabbath?" Mr. Mito hung his head and made no reply. "Mr. Sunamoto, will you close up your shop and observe the Sabbath?" Mr. Sunamoto said it would ruin his business to do that. "Mr. Ijinia, will you give up all and follow Christ?" Mr. Ijinia said he had determined so to do many days ago. After Dr. Lambuth had gone through the list in this way with some very hearty responses, a local preacher from Tokio prayed most fervently for the doctor and those who could not give up all for Christ. Dr. Sugiye then arose and said: "I have for a long while hesitated about this matter, but I am determined now to follow Christ even if I am poor. I am willing to give up my *saké*." Then the others got up one after another and solemnly renounced all for the Master.

The Organ of Moravian Missions, *Periodical Accounts*, has a review in a recent issue of the remarkable revival which began in the mission of the United Brethren on the Moskito Coast, Central America, in the year 1881. The mission was established chiefly among the Indians and Creoles in 1849, and at the close of 1880 it numbered about a thousand converts. No special effort preceded the awakening of 1881. The missionaries had faithfully proclaimed the Gospel as a remedy for sin in all the years of

their ministration on the coast, and every year they saw Indians and Creoles and Spaniards gladly accepting the good tidings. When the great revival began, it began in places where it was least expected and at a time when the most devoted and faithful missionaries were absent. It began in a deep consciousness of sin, which seemed to pervade all classes of the population. The cry of all was, "God, be merciful to me, a sinner!" Persons of all ages were prostrated with a feeling of utter unworthiness, little children fell on their knees in united prayer, and the most profligate and abandoned became sincere penitents. A dozen sorcerers, who had been the high-priests of heathenism, became meek and lowly followers of Christ. Those who had long been abject slaves of the drink habit became thoroughly reformed, with no further desire, so they testified, for the cup. "Companies of Indians, working in the forest at a great distance from the stations, were seized in their turn," and entreaties for forgiveness were heard from lips which had never been known to utter a word of prayer. As the Moravian missionaries passed from village to village, in response to calls from every direction, they found "that the finger of God had touched" places which had been lying in the shadow of death. It seemed to be God's revival, without the ordinary use of human agents. The revival proceeded amidst great excitement. The missionaries strongly disapproved of it, but they could not wholly control it. They had not sought to arouse it, they had not expected such a manifestation, and they were careful how they discouraged it. Tremblings, cold sweats, fits, and prostration, followed by great exultation, came upon the penitents. Some had dreams and visions which they regarded as revelations from God. Some excesses were committed, but in the main the converts became steady, sober Christians. The missionaries declined to baptize any convert whose sincerity was not thoroughly tested. The result of the awakening has been the adding of some fifteen hundred persons to the list of communicants, a great increase of zeal in Christian work, and the opening of new stations. Few have fallen away. The natives no longer say, as they used to, "God loves the white man, but not the Indian." He has given them, they say, a special manifestation of his love for them.

THE MAGAZINES AND REVIEWS.

Richard W. Gilder, in the July number of the *New Princeton Review*, discusses certain tendencies in current literature apropos of the desultory conflict waged in the literary field between "Realism and Idealism." Mr. Gilder has much sympathy with the realist, and especially with the American literary realist, because his voice is the voice of conviction, the note of the genuine, of the exact. A good bit of petulant wit is embodied in the sentence: "There are skeptics who would say that the present realism in fiction is, in France, a discovery of the unclean, and in America a discovery of the unimportant. The realistic method in fiction is averse to character, does not take kindly to the conventional hero and heroine, nor the elaborate plots, melodramatic situations, or romantic disguises." The author well defines the spirit of true realism in the words: "Let it be reality all the way through; reality of the spirit as well as of the flesh; not a groveling reality, not a reality microscopic or photographic, or self-conscious, or superficial; not a reality that sees ugliness but is blind to beauty; not a reality which sees the little, yet neither sees nor feels the great; not a reality which ignores those social phenomena, those actual experiences of the heart, those natural passions and delights which have created in man the romantic spirit; those experiences of the soul which have created in him the religious spirit, and which are facts of existence certainly no less important than any other." The sum of Mr. Gilder's paper is, that those who pursue both the real and the ideal methods are useful fellow-creatures, and it gives us a new illustration of the old proverb, "*In medio tutissimus ibis.*"

S. T. N. Benjamin in this number turns from his recent studies of Persia to note "American Art Since the Centennial," finding in the establishment of the museums in the great cities, in the change of our art students from Dusseldorf and Rome to Munich and Paris, in the growth of our monthly magazines, in the growing taste for etchings, proofs of great advance and a prophecy of the development of real American art.

S. H. Cobb discusses the theory of prohibition, taking the strong ground that as a remedy for the moral evil of intemperance prohibition is wanting in the first principles of true morality.

In the June number of the *North American* Dorman B. Eaton defends independent political action as a necessity for the purification of politics. A paper of popular interest is that made up from biographical notes by President Garfield on his experience as a lawyer. An article of much value to Christians is that by Dr. Mendes on "Why I am a Jew," which exhibits the ground of the tenacious hold which Judaism has upon its hearers in a very strong and intelligent way. The attention of political students is called by H. A. Gumbleton to the dangers of our lodging-house vote, which is becoming an increasing factor in the political life of New York.

The July number of this magazine has quite an attraction in the opening article by Henry George on "The New Party." It opens with the statement: "The era in American politics which began with the candidacy of Fremont closed with the defeat of Blaine. The Republican Party died at heart some time ago, with the second administration of Grant, or at least with the early part of the administration of Hayes. The growth of the Prohibition Party on the one siue and the Labor Party on the other, and the readiness with which Republicans and Democrats have united in some of the recent municipal elections when threatened with what seemed to them a common danger, show how rapidly the process of disintegration is taking place." Mr. George accounts the prohibition movement a natural effort to bring into politics, in the absence of larger questions, a social matter, but holds that the rise of the Labor Party takes hold of these questions lower down. Mr. George is quite intoxicated by the success of the Anti-Poverty Society's Sunday meetings in New York, forgetting that new movements have always been able to command, when made sufficiently popular by eccentric facts or advertising, similar attention in our large cities.

O. B. Frothingham furnishes the religious article, if it can be so called, entitled, "Why am I a Free-Religionist?" After reading the article, we are unable to see why, unless it be a certain mental twist which compels Mr. Frothingham, wherever he is, to fight alone. Dion Boucicault writes on the "Rise and Fall of the Press," apropos of stage critics, we suppose.

The most noticeable article in the June *New Englander and Yale Review* is by Frederick Alvord on the question, "The Bible: Shall we Take It as we Like It, or as we Find It?" The paper is a strong attack upon the new theological idea that the Christian consciousness is a tribunal before which to summon the Bible for trial. A strong point is made against it in the statement that the lack of uniformity in the deliverances of the Christian consciousness is fatal to the jurisdiction of consciousness in an inquiry of this kind. Dr. Newman Smyth fares not over-well in this paper in respect of the conclusions which he draws in his little work on the *Morality of the Old Testament.* Much praise is given by John Dewey to Professor Ladd's paper upon "Ethics and Physical Science," showing close discrimination between the moral law of the Spirit and the physical morality which has proved so attractive to many, and which, in the judgment of some, affords strong aid to biblical teaching. He declares that "we cannot admit the claims of physical science to be the founder of the ethical system of the coming man. We have to deny it because ethics deals with an end, and there is no place for an end in nature, as confined to space and time; and because, even if there were an end in the universe, this would not of itself constitute an ideal for human conduct; and because science is utterly unable to establish the essential feature of the ethical ideal—its insistence upon the identity of humanity in their relation to it. It is evident that the professor strongly holds that it is impos-

for physical science to formulate a constructive ethics, because the world of physical science gives no ground for morals—no place where the moral life may so much as set its foot. There is a very well-drawn Socratic dialogue by President Hyde in review of Dr. Harris's "Self-revelation of God." The old question of religion in the public schools is freshly discussed by Principal J. C. Greenough. The principal seems to be strongly in favor of teaching religion in the public schools, declaring that our public schools are the offspring of Christianity, and that the schools of Europe, whether Catholic or Protestant, are the offspring of Christianity; and he believes that as sectarian bitternesses are melting away there will be less difficulty in determining what amount of religious truth shall be taught.

The article in this number and in the July number on Christian work in London, both by the Church of England and the Dissenting Churches, reveals a degree of activity and diligence in discovering methods which is very inspiring to workers in America. It is plain that the Established Church is waking up to the advantages of its position, and no longer deserves the criticisms which have been visited upon it as a dead Church. Possessed of the old foundations, having a legal status, and an historical and social influence of amazing force, the English Church seems disposed to compete with the Dissenters for the popular ear; and as the spectacle of a surpliced clergyman holding out-door meetings and addressing himself to the outcast population is more novel in the Church of England than among the Dissenters, it has happened in several cases that larger and more visible results have occurred from their ministry than from the diligent toil of the Wesleyans and the dissenting bodies. We commend these two papers very strongly to all pastors in large cities.

Much space is taken up in the July number with the Andover controversy, which is becoming more and more a purely denominational matter. Thomas R. Bacon, now filling his dead brother's place in California, reviews, in the July number, Mr. Brooks Adams's *The Emancipation of Massachusetts*. Mr. Bacon shows a great deal of the paternal vigor in this critique. Rikaizo Nakasima, a Japanese student of New Haven, has a singularly good paper on the "Via Media in Ethics." This was an essay presented at the anniversary exercises of Yale Theological Seminary, and would do credit to the scion of any one of New England's academic families.

The Reminiscences of his European tour by O. W. Holmes are continued in the July and August numbers of the *Atlantic*, and are altogether the most interesting papers recently given to the public through that medium. Many men might have revisited England after fifty years and have been incapable of observing with the eye of a poet and of a scientific man. The humor which has always been so delightful an element in Dr. Holmes's genius shows no decay in his advancing years. Perhaps his longest stay outside of London was in Salisbury Close, and his reminis-

cences of that most graceful of English cathedrals form a delightful element in his hundred days in Europe.

In the August number he tells us of his experience of London life, and has some sharp criticisms of English snobbery, though he admits that exclusiveness has its conveniences. Students of philosophy will be interested in the article by George Frederick Parsons on the "Growth of Materialism." It is a strong indictment of mammon-worship, but its general tone is not very cheerful. He holds strongly that progress of a genuine character upon purely material principles is inconceivable. The spiritual is as necessary as the material, and progress is artificial and unsound in proportion as the only recognition received by the spiritual is an outward one. With many others he looks upon the devotion to material prosperity in our American life as certain to bring about all the dangers which have marked similar conditions in the history of other nations.

The *Unitarian Review* for June gives the first place to a semi-sermon by Dr. John W. Chadwick on the "Revelation of God." We have seen no article which more strikingly manifests the impossibility of any belief when the foundations of Christianity are themselves sapped. Some one who writes under the pseudonym "Conrad Mascot," in treating of St. Paul's doctrine of the risen Christ, attempts to show the influence of the great vision of Paul on the road to Damascus upon his whole life and writing. The peculiarity of his conclusion is to be seen in the sentence: "The doctrine of the pre-mundane embodied Christ finds no stable support in any certainly Pauline Scripture. The dogma that Christ is the second man is Pauline; that of his pre-mundane glory is Johannine."

We have formerly referred to the remarkably high character, from a literary and historical point of view, of the *Magazine of American History*, conducted by Mrs. Martha J. Lamb. The July number has an excellent engraving of the portrait by Copley of Henry Laurens, President of the Continental Congress, and a sketch of his experiences in the London Tower, with several reproductions of old and very valuable portraits. To those who are fond of historical reading this magazine offers more in a year than any other publication of American inspiration with which we are acquainted.

In the lengthening season in which Mr. Gladstone leads her majesty's opposition, he holds to his early studies in Greek criticism and mythology, and appears in the June number of the *Contemporary Review* as a student of the great Olympian Sedition, a study of the rebellion against Zeus. R. W. Dale, the well known Congregational clergyman and *littérateur*, writes in a very kindly spirit of the relations of the Liberal Party and Home Rule, and seems to indicate that the differences in the Liberal Party are not so formidable as to justify despair of their being united in some plan which will relieve the legislative pressure with regard to Ire-

land. Frances Power Cobb writes in her strong and skeptical way of "Faith-Healing and Fear-Killing;" yet her skepticism does not prevent her admitting that there is really such a thing as faith-healing, holding, however, that three fourths, and probably nineteen twentieths, of the stories of cures of the religious class are undoubtedly myths, frauds, exaggerations, fallacies of memory or of reporting; and quite as many of the medical kind, she adds, may be divided between silly self-deceptions and the arrant falsehoods of interested quacks. She makes a very strong point when she says: "If faith and piety and hope so elevate and stimulate the soul as to enable it to dispel disease, then, beyond a doubt, mistrust and pessimism and fear must correspondingly depress the soul, and leave Lucifer master of the situation." She condemns this age as hag-ridden by anxiety. Andrew Lang has a bright paper upon "Literary Plagiarism," coming no nearer a definition of it, as we can see, than many who have written before him. Speaking of his own experience, he says that when he was a freshman he wrote a most unjustly successful Newdigate prize poem, in which he thought there was a good line. Somebody's hands were said to be

> "Made of a red rose, swooning into white;"

but he afterward found in Chastelard somebody's hand "made of a red rose that has turned to white." Here was a direct though unintentional robbery. He holds that the plagiarist appears to be a decidedly rare criminal, whereas charges of plagiarism have always been as common as blackberries.

We are very glad to see in the June number of the *Church Review* an article on the Beneficiary Education for the ministry, by the Rev. Frederick W. Harriman, M.A. The paper is strongly in favor of such education, on the ground that the Church must be as wise as the State, which educates its own officers, and declares that underlying all the reasoning against the societies for the help of students is the silent, unconfessed, half-conscious prejudice against poverty. It is evident that those who desire to abandon the name of the Protestant Episcopal Church are not to have it all their own way in the public prints, for in this number the Hon. Hugh W. Sheffey declaims strongly against the change, and attacks Mr. Prince, chief apostle, with great vigor. He admits the possibility of conciliating some Romanists, or Rome-bound Churchmen, by striking out the word Protestant, but he believes its effect will be disastrous in alienating the sympathies of sincere and out-spoken Protestants, and the door of fellowship and organic union with them will be closed and barred forever.

In literary interest *Scribner's Monthly* is the equal of its predecessors—*Harper's* and *The Century*—and in respect of illustration is rapidly approaching, within its own scope, the great merit of those periodicals. Two more interesting papers have never appeared in any magazine than those by John C. Ropes in the June and July numbers on "Some Illustra-

tions of Napoleon and his Times," while the "Unpublished Letters of Thackeray," which have been printed in the last four numbers, form a literary find of the highest value.

The July number of *Harper's* opens with a very noteworthy article on "A Printed Book," under the general head, "Great American Industries," in which the process of book-making is followed from the setting of the type to the marbling and binding, with illustrations of every process. A glimpse into a life not generally known is given in the well illustrated paper, "Cadet Life at West Point." Charles Dudley Warner's series on "Here and There in the South" is not up in interest to the level of "Their Pilgrimage," except in the matter of illustration. More than a glimpse of African life is given in the richly illustrated article on a central Soudan town. Richard T. Ely, who may be said to be rapidly becoming the leading American writer on social questions, studies in this number "The Future of Corporations," and believes, as do all who think upon the subject, that corporations will be brought into greater subordination to public interest, and that all charters for performing the functions of a natural monopoly will be limited to a brief period, with a reversion of the entire property to municipal, state, or federal government, either without compensation or with compensation at an appraised valuation for actual outlays.

The *Forum* for July has perhaps the most important critique on Mr. George's theories about land which has appeared in any periodical. It is from the pen of Professor W. T. Harris, and shows that Mr. George's project would not enrich at all the laboring-men. Newman Smyth, in retaliation or in reply to the article by Professor Patton, "Is Andover Romanizing?" asks in this number, "Is Princeton Humanizing?" and, as it seems to us, with a sharper satirical blade. Park Benjamin, in considering the infliction of the death penalty, advocates the use of electricity instead of the rope. But about the most interesting, because the most painful, paper in the number is that by the Rev. J. O. S. Huntington on "Tenement House Morality," which shows how impossible it is for the ideal of decent family life, and, therefore, of Christian order, to be realized within the precincts of a tenement house.

BOOK NOTICES.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

Keats. By SIDNEY COLVIN, in John Morley's *English Men of Letters.* 12mo, pp. 230. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Next to the wonderful boy Chatterton, Keats died the youngest of all the long list of famous poets England has produced, and one of the most lamented. Of humbly respectable birth, orphaned in early youth, with a fair preparatory and medical education, handsome, brilliant, sensitive, pugnacious, yet laughing, laughable, and lovable, Keats was launched upon the world with sufficient inherited income to keep him from poverty, but not enough for independence. There was no recognizable heredity of genius from his ancestry on either side; but his temperament and type of mind, though not manifest in his immediate ancestors, belonged distinctively to his *race.* The Keats family came from the Cornish coast, where the name, though never eminent, is ancient; and Wales seems to be the original home of the Jennings stock—his mother's line—though it has spread widely. Thus his ancestry was from Celtic roots on both sides, and never was Homer a truer embodiment of the Greek genius, nor Milton of the English, than was Keats of the genius of the Keltic race—the expiring Cornish blood from his father, the ardent, picturesque, and sensuous Kymric-Briton spirit from his mother. Put these elements together into the immature, seven-months first child of a gay, dancing, and consumptive mother, and give him a glimpse of classics and mythology in his education, and then kill him off with an uninspiring, unennobling, yet consuming love, and with consumption, at the early age of twenty-four, and we have all the potential elements for the genesis of Keats, and elements which Mr. Colvin should have brought together into crystallization, as a philosophy and psychology of Keats, but has hardly done so. From this base the very essence of Keats's genius was distilled. The immortal opening sentence of his *Endymion* crystallizes his whole philosophy of poetry:

> "A thing of beauty is a joy forever:
> Its loveliness increases; it will never
> Pass into nothingness," etc.

Over and over, in both his poems and his letters, Keats proclaimed it the mission of the poet—and so of himself—to be the seer and revealer of beauty to man, and that not, in his ideal, the highest beauty, the beauty of pure, intellectual truth and moral perfection, nor yet the beauty of the affections glorified by communion with the supernatural and infinite, but the sensuous, Celtic conception of beauty, the beauty of the physical man, of physical nature, the physical universe. It is of the very essence of this concept of the beautiful that it is impatient of moral ideals and purposes. It is the outcrop of the ancient nature-worshiping Keltic genius, as shown from all the past in the Gaul, the Briton, the Kymri,

the Gael, all saturated with the spirit of that anti-Semitic, anti-Teutonic, earth-and-sense instinct, and æsthetics which are latent in a strain of human blood which has given to the world fighting clans and song-singing bards, battle-painting, ditties and dancing, but to which—in profound unlikeness to the Hebrew and the Germanic races—ethics is constitutionally abominable. Of that deep, and wide-spread, and ancient Keltic root Keats is, for the English-speaking peoples, the final and consummate flower—or, rather, a flower that promised to be consummate could it have matured to perfection. Great poetry can only be read with a large and deep intelligence by the aid of history, ethnology, and religion, as well as that of native sympathetic imagination and cultured taste. The poetry of a nation is the blossoming forth of its inmost life, and not merely of the life of the individual poet. Mr. Colvin would have grasped the ethereal and elusive genius of Keats better had he first used this wider net to catch him in. He has given us a thorough and elaborate biography of the person of Keats, and full sketches of the incidental origin, development, and publication of his poems. He has, indeed, overwrought, as we think, his research among the older and the contemporary English poets for the germs and models of Keats's imitation—as though two poets, like two wild-wood birds, could not warble similar strains without being imitators of each other! All this historical part of Mr. Colvin's Keats is well done, though the style is never vivacious, and some sentences are structurally obscure, and must be read twice to get their meaning. The only real failure of the book is in the last chapter, on the "Character and Genius" of Keats. The character is well sketched, and the reader gets a clear mental image of that. Of the genius he gets none at all, only a nebulous shape—

> "If shape it might be called that shape had none
> Distinguishable in member, joint, or limb."

But if Mr. Colvin fails in his attempt to grasp the genius of Keats as an abstract whole, he does not fail to show good analyses of its working in his sketches of the several leading poems as they come along. In fact, these analyses are excellent—the best parts of the book.

It is not easy to form a clear and just conception, as a whole, of a genius so airy, and so early blighted, as that of Keats. The profound and luxurious sensuous beauty and express antipathy to all ethical purpose which pervades all his work, makes it, to a great degree, alien to the deeply ethical and Christian Anglo-Saxon mind; and these traits seem almost to justify the application to his whole work of Wordsworth's curt remark concerning his hymn to Pan, in the first book of *Endymion:* "A pretty piece of paganism!" What would he have said of the "roundelay" on the triumphal progress of young Bacchus through the Oriental world, in the fourth book? But even here, in this unethical and even anti-ethical spirit of Keats's work, is one of the proofs of his power. The dominant spirit in the momentarily fashionable poetry of to-day is this same unethical and anti-ethical spirit—a semi-pagan spirit, the sensuous and

untheistic spirit of Keats, though with scarce a tithe of his æsthetic and imaginative power. But it is characteristic of all imitators to copy the copyable—that is, the lowest and weakest features of an original, and never has this principle been more forcibly illustrated than by the thin and sloppy modern Keatsism.

But let the imitators of Keats bear in mind the last and highest stage of his moral growth, which Mr. Colvin seems but poorly qualified to understand or interpret. During the last and ever-wonderful two years' development of his ripening genius Keats began to be profoundly cloyed with his own engorgement of sensuous beauty, and to see and often vaguely utter glimpses of the vast ethical mission of art and genius—glimpses that foreshadowed a coming fundamental revolution in his philosophy of poetry. It was a late moral development, characteristic of the moral infancy of his race-stock. But had he lived to ripe maturity, he seems likely to have developed an ethical purpose in his work as profound as that of Milton and Spenser, his chief masters, or that of Tennyson, whose youthful work shows so plainly the tutelage of Keats. As it was, he only lived to give those fragmentary premonitions of the coming revolution of his moral and spiritual being which appear in his letters and in some brief poetical passages, and to prove its present reality by making Jeremy Taylor's *Holy Living and Dying* almost the one book of his last months and days before death. Would that our modern Keatses and Keatsism might realize the same ennobling *evolution* from an infantile and semi-pagan anti-ethicism to the ethical manhood of Christianity and moral obligation!

But, studied apart from the ethical want and hunger of man's moral nature—if it is possible to so study any serious literary creation—Keats, with all his early crudities, is the most gifted seer and prophet of natural beauty in English, perhaps in all, literature. Next to the two volume work of Richard Monckton Milnes, Lord Houghton, revised edition 1867, and the Aldine *Keats's Works*, edited by the same gifted author, 1876, Mr. Colvin has no doubt given us here the best view of Keats that we have, and one indispensable to a mastery of its theme. The Appendix is useful. The Harpers' part of the work, as publishers, needs no praise.

The Captain of the Janizaries. A Story of the Times of Scanderbeg and the Fall of Constantinople. By JAMES M. LUDLOW. 12mo, pp. 400. New York: Funk & Wagnalls. 1887.

Whatever pertains to the "Eastern Question" is "live" matter. This work is an historical romance, of the same general class with those of Jane Porter (*Thaddeus of Warsaw* and *Scottish Chiefs*) and Walter Scott (*Ivanhoe*, etc.), but it is more strictly historical than these, and shedding light upon the livest question of Europe to-day.

It is not often that a reviewer has time to read through a work of fiction, but we have read every page of this book, and some of it twice. It is, however, very near to a mistake to call such a work "fiction." The great

historical events and characters with which the book deals are too well known, and have been and still are too potential in shaping the world, to be regarded in a fictitious light. The period is the early and middle part of that fifteenth century which closed with the discovery of America. The scene is the wizard realm of all Europe, its south-eastern frontier, where the Old World joins the New, and all lights and shadows blend and dance together. Next in importance to the gift of a new continent to Europe was the loss of what stood for the "Old World," in the fall of Constantinople before the conquering Ottoman Turks, in A. D. 1453. That was the death of antiquity, an event which shook Europe and civilization. It was not, however, the beginning of the Turks' onset on Europe, but far from it. The Turk had conquered almost all south-eastern Europe already. His capital had been at Adrianople eighty-seven years, and the Greek empire, reduced to only Constantinople and its suburbs, was merely an island of Christianity in an ocean of Mohammedan barbarism that rolled from India to Vienna, until at last the surge swept over the island too, and from the Danube to the Ganges all was Islam. Amid the swirl of this inundation lies the story of weird little Albania, standing on her mountains like their crags themselves, and dashing back the ever-rising tide of Moslem invasion for a generation. Even in the soberest history it is a marvelous tale. George Castriot, an hereditary prince of Albania, as a boy, is a hostage at the Turkish court at Adrianople. In violation of hostage law he is made a captive, forced into the corps of the Janizaries (all captive Christian youth), and trained in Mohammedanism, and in all the art of war as practiced by that renowned body that stands in history with the Roman Prætorian Guards, the Egyptian Mamelukes (who were Circassians), and the Russian Strelitzes (shooters), as the four great autonymous military organizations that have ruled great empires. Of this famous ten thousand Castriot becomes the most famous personal soldier, the most sagacious and invincible commander, it ever had; and he is justly ranked by Sir William Temple as one of the seven greatest uncrowned men of history. From his height, as the hero and pillar of the Ottoman empire, the conqueror of every great warrior of his age, recognized even by the Hungarian, John Hunniades, as his master and the peerless soldier of the world, the Albanian patriot and the childhood Christian overmaster the Janizary and the Moslem in him. Then he obeys the call of Albania, quits his last battle-field for the Turk, and flies to his Albanian mountains, there to rule his native rocks, and like them to dash back the myriad hordes of the Moslem, though Constantinople falls and the crescent and scimeter flash to the center of Europe. The Lord Alexander (Iskander-beg, or bey), the name given him by the admiring sultan, is to the Turk, to this day, "a name to conjure with;" the most marvelous name for valor, military genius, and soldierly honor known in Turkish story, despite his treason, as they viewed it. He defeated the Turks in twenty-two pitched battles, always against superior numbers, often four to one, and was never beaten in battle except by his own planning in his last fight for the Turks—that with

Hunniades, the Christian hero, the "White Knight of Wallachia;" and then only in order to cripple the Turks sufficiently to aid his own escape to Albania. But even in this defeat he out-generaled Hunniades. The check which he gave to Moslem conquest made Europe his debtor forever, and anticipated by more than two centuries the final defeat of the crescent under the walls of Vienna by that second Charles Martel, John Sobieski, the "Wizard King of Poland."

As might be inferred from Dr. Ludlow's *Historical Charts*, the historical material of the book is rich, and we may also safely say that the artistic structure of the tale, in plot, narration, character-work, and local coloring, all unite to make it a masterpiece. The two Servian peasant brothers, duplicates of each other, one of whom, captured by the Turks in boyhood, becomes Scanderbeg's able successor as captain of the Janizaries, the other in free Albania, the right arm of the patriot Castriot (whose mother was a Servian princess), and finally marries the Albanian princess, the heroine, the daughter of Castriot's boyish sweetheart, are admirably drawn; and the adventures growing out of their resemblance, while each supposes the other dead, are almost miraculous, but always probable, and always such as to help the right and help each other.

The heroine herself, disciplined in countless adventures, from a shepherd's hut to the Ottoman court, is a noble and glorious model of womanhood, such as no man can study without a higher reverence for womankind.

Here and there in the work the historian gets the better of the artist, but only to condense the story when too long to be told by the actors. We predict that this book will run a good race with *Ben-Hur*. It will interest and instruct mature minds, and furnish an excellent historical and moral lesson for every youth in the land.

Abraham, Joseph, and Moses in Egypt. Being a Course of Lectures delivered before the Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J. By Rev. ALFRED H. KELLOGG, D.D., of Philadelphia; member of "Victoria Institute," etc. 8vo, pp. 160. New York: Anson D. F. Randolph & Co.

Egyptology has scarcely attained to the status of a science, though some good progress has been made toward determining certain data from which such a science may be constructed. From the earliest to the latest times the biblical records are more or less entangled with Egyptian affairs, and especially the careers of the three hero-patriarchs named in the above title have large Egyptian relations, and through them the histories of both nationalities are illustrated. In these lectures Dr. Kellogg endeavors, with a good degree of success, to trace out the connections of the Hebrews with the Egyptians; but after his large expenditure of learned labors the amount of positive knowledge attained is not large. Two points, however, are made pretty certain—first, that there is enough in the subject to justify the now prevalent study of the topic, and second, that the boasted chronology of Egypt, going back through tens of thousands of years before the earliest biblical dates, is wholly untrustworthy.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Outlines of International Law. With an Account of its Origin and Sources, and of its Historical Development. By GEORGE B. DAVIS, U. S. A., Assistant Professor of Law at the United States Military Academy. 12mo, pp. 449. New York: Harper & Brothers.

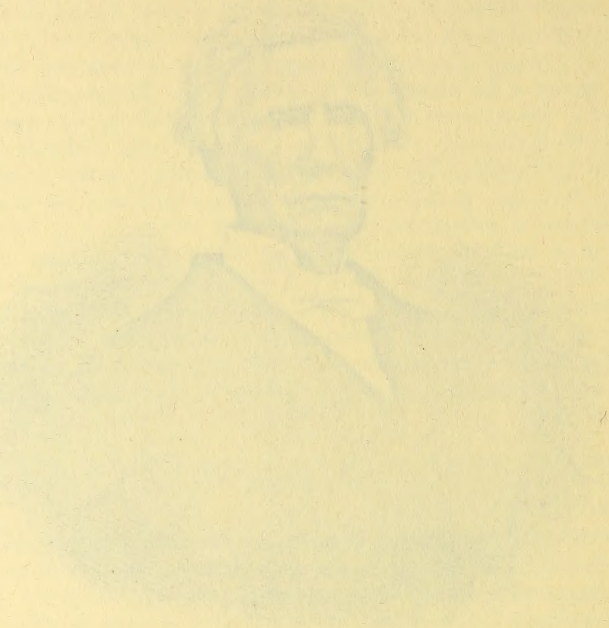
The subject discussed in this volume is one of great dignity, in which every citizen is concerned, and the proper understanding of which is an essential part of a liberal education; its elucidation has also engaged the learning and genius of the present and of former times. The purpose of this work is not to discuss anew the several subjects treated of, but rather to set in order for the benefit of beginners the chief facts and principles upon which International Law is based, and according to which its superstructure is built up. It is intended to serve as a text-book for schools, or as an elementary treatise for private reading, rather than a comprehensive system or book of general reference; and for the purpose so intended the work is well adapted—better, indeed, than some larger and more elaborate works. The style is plain and pure English, clear rather than elegant, and sufficiently forceful to awaken and command attention. As a book for the advanced classes in schools and colleges it deserves to be favorably considered. In our professorial days we sought in vain for such a text-book.

Things Seen (*Choses Vues*). By VICTOR HUGO, Author of *Toilers of the Sea*, *History of a Crime*, etc. With a portrait. 12mo, pp. 235. New York: Harper & Brothers.

This volume is interesting as embodying the author's impressions of certain persons and events from the year 1838 to the year 1875. It is far too fragmentary to be called an autobiography; it is rather a series of word-pictures, brilliant and often revealing a deep insight of human character and historical incidents. Here and there are masterly touches of that genius which has raised its author to such eminence among the writers of this century; but as a whole it is a little disappointing when compared with his other works. From a man so great, when speaking of well-nigh forty years of his life, we expected more, while allowing for all that he has done—his splendid literary achievements.

DEATH OF DANIEL CURRY, D.D., LL.D.

THE Publishers of this Review are deeply grieved at the necessity of informing its readers that the Rev. Dr. DANIEL CURRY, its able and scholarly editor, is no longer an inhabitant of earth. He died at his home in this city, after a brief but severe illness, on Wednesday, August 17, in the 78th year of his age.



METHODIST REVIEW.

NOVEMBER, 1887.

ART. I.—IN MEMORIAM—DANIEL CURRY.

[DANIEL CURRY was born near Peekskill, Nov. 26, 1809. He was a graduate of the Wesleyan University. In January, 1841, he was received on probation in the Georgia Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and stationed at Athens, in that State. His following appointments were: 1842, Athens and Lexington; 1843, Savannah; 1844, Columbus. On leaving this charge he came north, and was stationed in 1845 at Twenty-seventh Street, New York; 1846–47, his station was New Haven, Conn.; 1848–49, Washington Street Church, Brooklyn; 1850–51, Fleet Street; 1852–53, he was at Hartford, Conn.; 1854, again at Twenty-seventh Street, New York; 1855–57, President of Indiana Asbury University, finishing the year at South Third Street, Brooklyn; 1858–59, at Middletown, Conn.; 1860–61, New Rochelle; 1862–63, at Thirty-seventh Street, New York; 1864, for a short time, presiding elder of South Long Island District. In May, 1864, he was elected editor of the *Christian Advocate*, in which office he was continued until May, 1876; he was then elected editor of the *Ladies' Repository*, the title of which was soon thereafter changed to that of the *National Repository;* in 1881–82, he was again in the pastorate, at East Eighty-second Street and South Harlem; in 1883, at Bethany Chapel; in May, 1884, he was elected editor of the *Review* and General Books. While in this office he ended his earthly career on the 17th of August, 1887, in the 78th year of his age.]

SUCH are the historic facts in the career of the great man who has gone from us. But how meager such a record is!—a skeleton without the breath of life.

DANIEL CURRY came of that Scotch-Irish ancestry which lives long, works hard, fights well, reasons closely, loves intensely, dislikes strongly, and has underneath the firm rock of religious conviction. Methodism owes much, in both continents, to this strain, and owes nothing stronger or braver than Daniel Curry. Such an inheritance fits its possessor to take on culture readily, and gives steadiness of aim and industry in acquisition. These

qualities were conspicuous in the young Curry. He read persistently but discursively. He studied with this habit of discursive reading upon him, and had need to resist it all his life, as his maturing judgment saw the value of accuracy as well as breadth. His ancestry made itself visible not only in the qualities of his mind but in his frame and face. Tall, almost gaunt, with square forehead, deep-set and easily kindled eyes, projecting and shaggy eyebrows, a straight and prominent nose, high cheek-bones, a firmly set mouth, a square and well projected chin, his appearance was such as is not easily forgotten. It was the diaphanous veil which disclosed the firm, earnest, aggressive spirit, which grew with his years and the development of his career, to have at length its iron strength softened by age and broadening piety.

It would have been difficult for any one meeting Daniel Curry in his middle life to form any other impression at first sight than that here was a man to be feared and followed. The commander was visible and vocal in him. His mental constitution and its physical agent both gave strength to this impression. From his youth he could value the deftly cutting cimeter, but his own weapon was naturally the broad-ax, which crushes as well as cuts; and many who knew him only in the days of controversy which brought him to the front, and who saw him only while fighting a great wrong, supposed that sympathy and tenderness were foreign to his nature. But as through the granite hills internal heats have thrown up veins of softer rock, seen as penetrating the larger masses only by the observer close at hand, so those who knew him well in his most warlike days detected the affection and tenderness which veined his rugged nature.

His mind was incisive and yet philosophical. He could not only penetrate but explore. He could generalize as well as observe. Indeed, his powers of observation were so great that he missed something of that intensity which is the outcome of a partial view. Had he been a narrower man he would have left larger literary monuments. He made advance in knowledge too rapidly to feel that at any one moment he knew anything fully, and while others reached what they believed to be the final stages, and gave their work to the world in that pleasing belief, he was so enamored of the many-sidedness of truth

that he felt incompetent for its expression. This gave a vagueness to some of his critical and theological utterances which ill accorded with the most easily visible elements of his mind. But it was only in the range of higher thought that his trumpet ever knew an uncertain sound. There was such a large practical element in him that nothing passed him without awakening his interest. He was no mere dreamer, no abstracted metaphysician, dwelling contentedly amid the cobwebs spun from the involutions of his own consciousness.

An idealist in philosophy, he was a realist in life. A spiritualist of the true sort, almost a quietist in religion, no man among us more strongly insisted upon the axiom of St. James, "Faith without works is dead." This intellectual breadth reenforced his personality and diminished its output. If he had had less of it he would not have so much dreaded authorship in the more personal and independent form. He often said to the writer, "I sometimes think I know too much to write a poor book and not enough to write a good one." It was this which made him chiefly a commentator and essayist. If he had been less able to determine historical and critical values he would not so often have startled the Church by divergences from accepted thought. If he had been incapable of seeing truth from another's stand-point, the chief strain of lamentation over him would not be that a great personality has gone from us. It was, then, the blending of breadth and intensity which marked the success and failure of his career. As an intellect he will live as an influence—as one of the most stimulating and suggestive of minds. He made no advance in philosophy, but he has helped those who will. He has not defined the faith anew, nor shown us where the breadth of God's visible kingdom must be more fully the interpreter of the invisible. He has not so weighed and adjusted the sciences that we can feel ourselves of his school; but no man met him who did not think more broadly for the contact. He gave hints which others will work out. He opened the doors through which others will pass. As an intellectual guide-post no man in Methodism has been his superior.

This is only another way of saying that such great critical faculty as he had was largely of the destructive kind. To know what a thing is not is much toward knowing what it is. A

certain combative element gave him great power in attacking the theories of others. His glance was eagle-like in strength and quickness. He laid hold of shaky pillars as if he delighted to overturn them. Indeed, he may not uncharitably be suspected of a grim pleasure in bringing down flimsy structures on the heads of the builders. This appeared most fully in his speeches. He might appear to be half asleep or reading a paper; but as an opponent neared his close Daniel Curry's eye would shoot new fires, his lounging form would straighten, and, leaping to his feet, the smile on his face meant that he saw where he could hit, and that the pleasure of the conflict spurred him on. But very rarely would the hearer receive the impression of intentional injustice, or of battling for the sake of victory. Daniel Curry came from a race whose blood and training led its representatives to identify unconsciously their own will with the will of God. He had enough of the Puritan and Covenanter in him to love a tilt against any existing order. In the work of John Knox we see God, but we see also John Knox. And as Knox, conscious of the righteousness of his aim, and believing in his cause, had sometimes scant courtesy for his opponent, so Daniel Curry was, especially in middle life, often impatient of contradiction, occasionally overbearing in manner, sometimes contemptuous of an untried foe. It is difficult for any man who is made conscious of his power by success to avoid complacency and self-will. It is equally difficult for one who from youth knows himself to be masterful to keep his sovereignty in modest exhibit when events exploit it. Rare, indeed, is that courtesy which treats intellectual weakness with the consideration due to strength. That in these things Daniel Curry sometimes failed, his most loving friends will admit. But the general impression produced, by method, manner, and man, was that of unflinching courage and downright honesty. Seldom, indeed, did he warrant the judgment that in his work he was thinking chiefly of himself. He breasted too many currents to be deemed a time-server.

Thus much it is needful to remember to understand his long public career of almost fifty years.

Possessed, at the beginning of his work, of culture beyond that of most of his co-workers, it has been said that much of his eminence was due to this advantage. No greater mistake

is possible. Eminence was in the man. He would have come to the front because of himself. Culture and conflict made him stronger, as the oak is stimulated and toughened by the soil in which it grows and the winds which blow about it. But the oak-possibility must be there in the beginning.

In reviewing his career as pastor, professor, college president, journalist, legislator, and critic—in studying his character as acquaintance, associate, friend, and Christian—one wishes for the broadest vocabulary, the deepest insight, and the most facile pen. One is compelled to wish that Daniel Curry might have been his own biographer. Few remain who recall his early career in Georgia as pastor and preacher. This seems to have been, as was natural, a formative and tentative period in study, opinion, meditation, and effort. It bore fruit, but he needed pressure and compulsion to bring on his most fertile moods, and to the last was apt to delay important work. Little remains to us of the earlier period of his career, except that in the presence of slavery he learned to hate it, and with its seductions around him lifted up his voice against it. That voice was never silent until slavery was dead. It was like him to be out of tune with such an institution. He claimed liberty for himself. He valued institutions only as they enlarged and strengthened the individual. To see humanity, black or white, in bondage through slavery was to rouse all that was most fiery, forceful, and religious in his nature. But his experience in the South was had at a time when Calhoun was changing the Southern sentiment as to the wrong of servitude. To that great but perverted mind is largely due the change which came over our Southern brethren in respect of the right and wrong of human bondage. Until he became a force Southern statesmen and pastors used language not very different from that of the North. They admitted that slavery was an evil to white and black, but one inherited, from which they could not see the way of deliverance. Calhoun taught them that it was a blessing, according to the divine order, and therefore a religious, commercial, and social necessity. That he taught masterfully and well needs no further proof than the fact that some ministers in every denomination in the North took their lesson in public utterance from him. Daniel Curry's instincts were superior to such beguilements. His clear pene-

tration made short work of such reasonings. He saw that an effort was being made to use the sanctions of religion to rivet more firmly the fetters of the slave.

Once such a man could be tolerated in the South: but it was before his day. And when he found that his opinion made him useless in his chosen work in the Southern field he left it, to find that he had work for the slave to do in the North from which he sprung.

To those who have no memory of the *ante bellum* days it is difficult to imagine the disabilities under which an "abolitionist" labored. No matter whether he wished to work for Christ as pastor or teacher, abolition sentiment crippled his influence by narrowing his sphere. The writer, with other men of middle age in the New York East Conference, can recall the time when churches rejected pastors who pleaded the cause of the slave, and when fear that colleges might lose Southern students prevented scholars of the highest merit from attaining presidential and professorial positions. Daniel Curry suffered with many others at this time, and it may be said that he never had a fair field for his abilities until the death of slavery through the War of the Rebellion. While never among the rashest of anti-slavery speakers, he had enough of the noble contagion to make him unwelcome in some pulpits and in some posts.

As a college president his career was short and eventful. He had not yet sufficiently softened to make the young his allies, and to command by delicate use of his power the eager assistance of his compeers. No man questioned the strength of his brain nor the goodness of his heart. No one doubted that he intended to bring his best endowments to the institution of which he was the head. But his mental tone just at this period was least fitted to the delicate task of a college presidency. Later on in life the young thought him an oracle and a friend. The crown of age permits its wearer to be both positive and insistent. Dr. Curry was both when neither was helpful in the work he had to do.

Death has removed many who knew him as pastor, but enough remain to give some impression of his labors and to speak in admiration of his strong, clear, sound, trenchant, philosophical, fervent sermons. It was impossible for him to be a popular preacher. His manner was too serious, his language

too lofty, his range of thought too wide, his method too philosophical, and his logic too severe to please a promiscuous audience. He had adopted the didactic style common in his youth, and felt himself a divinely-commissioned teacher, entitled by his call and message to a willing hearing. While there were delightful veins of poetry and humor in this robust man, they seldom appeared in his pulpit utterances. Of his inadaptation to pastoral work in the itineracy he became aware, and no one ever spoke more amusingly of his inability to hold an audience than himself. His abilities were such as to be largely discounted by that itinerant system which has never had a stouter advocate than himself. If he had been early called to a pulpit in a large city, where his personality and intellectual power could have gradually drawn about him a sympathetic constituency—where his natural severity could have been softened by social warmth—he might have become the Leonard Bacon of his city and denomination. But he was, as a rule, unable to hold what he found, while always delighting some of his hearers. It is also to be here again remembered that the sterner side of his nature had the largest manifestation in that middle age which was also the period of his chief pastorates. This element affected the choice of his themes and his administration of discipline, and more than once aroused criticism, if it did not abbreviate his term. But as a preacher on special themes and occasions he was mighty, and never more at home than when preaching to his brethren of the ministry. Choosing some great theme, he unfolded it with scholarly skill, warmed, as he went on, with the heat of his thought and with devotional fire, and often rose to a majesty of eloquence which commanded astonishment and delight. These efforts had small help from oratorical graces. To these he had little claim. His voice was husky, his enunciation not always distinct, his attitudes, as a rule, without grace. But when animated by oratorical fervor his figure became straight, his gestures took on appropriateness, and the manner was wedded to the thought. His greatest work as a public speaker was in debate. He loved it and grew by it. It was a necessity of his nature, and it was no less a part of his education. Whether in the Preachers' Meeting of New York, on the floor of the Annual or General Conference, or in the board or committee

room, he had few equals and no superiors. Others may have won victories from him by a calmer judgment or a more trenchant wit; no one conquered him by richer or fuller expression, larger parliamentary resource, or greater readiness in apt and weighty utterance. The courage, the self-will, the intelligence, the art, the tact of the man all appeared in the strife of debate.

All who heard his brief speech at the last session of the New York East Conference, on the question of formally approving the third or Prohibition Party, were eager to admit that he had never been more vivacious, brilliant, condensed, or cogent. The judgment and tact which sometimes failed him in personal intercourse were in debate at full command. The discipline which he received by contact with younger minds steadily improved his forensic powers. This was shown by greater carefulness in statements of fact, fewer *ad captandum* appeals, larger courtesy toward opponents, scantier use of ridicule. He possessed two very dissimilar powers. He could amplify with almost as much skill and readiness as Bishop Foster, while, under the fifteen minute rule of Conferences, he could condense until, as it was said of Webster, he made his sentences weigh a ton. At moments, when his snow-white head punctuated with nods his energetic speech, no one could deny his right to the title, "The grand old man."

Much of his power as a debater was undoubtedly due to his mastery of Methodist legislation and constitutional history, as well as to his patient attention to all the details of business. At Conference he always sat well in front, where, catching every word, looking at every speaker, scrutinizing every candidate, debating every point of order, he was at all times fertile in suggestion and rich in parliamentary resource. He early perceived, what the mere orator is slow to perceive, that the man who has grasped the principles, knows the history, and has digested the facts, is always the master of the rhetorician. The reward of his patient attention to the details of Conference business was an influence second to none in our parliamentary history.

Strangely enough to those who knew only his sterner features, Dr. Curry was always a favorite speaker at the funerals of his brethren. Some men could not die content until he

promised to bury them. Not always equally happy, he was in general so sympathetic, just, and consoling on such occasions, that when he had finished few were willing to follow him and few were willing he should be followed.

The legislative career of Daniel Curry cannot be understood without perceiving that he was a radical on all questions of personal liberty, and conservative on nearly all matters of polity. I am confident that this will be found to be the key of his conduct. It is granted at once that there are apparent exceptions to this rule, but those who know the man will judge the exceptions to be only apparent.

It is an open secret that his was the most influential mind in forming the plan of lay representation under which the General Conference now works. And yet for years he steadily opposed the admission of laymen to the chief councils of the Church, and yielded only to the overwhelming evidence that the ministry demanded it. In his thought the Church owed its existence to the traveling preacher, who was, under God, the *fons et origo* of the outward life of the Church. He had called the Church, gathered it out of the wilderness, trained it, fashioned it, governed it, and brought it to its glorious maturity. The traveling preacher had founded its Book Concern, originated its Missionary Society, established its schools and colleges, and therefore had earned the right to administer the estate he had created. To admit laymen to a voice in the control of these great interests was to diminish the privileges and importance and imperil the liberty of those who, by the ministerial call as well as by success, were exclusively its legitimate rulers. Hence, he was indifferent to the claim that the laity were the larger part of the Church in numbers and contributions, and were therefore entitled to a voice in her counsels. And there can be little doubt that when the tide could not be resisted he set himself at work to prevent the harm he had prophesied. He lived long enough to see the Church survive and prosper under the change, but to the last rejoiced that the plan—except on the rare occasion of a separate vote—still left the controlling power in the hands of the representatives of the Annual Conferences. He claimed that the principle before asserted governed him in his occasional criticism of episcopal action, and his freely admitted sympathy with the diminution of episcopal

influence. In his thought no bishops in the world, except those of the Roman Church in those countries where the missionary rule prevails, wield such powers as those which have in general been, as he would admit, so wisely and unselfishly administered by our superintendents. That Dr. Curry was jealous of the least increase of their authority, or extension, by custom or law, of their influence, he would have been the first to own. But here again it was the loss of prestige and independence on the part of the traveling preacher that he feared. And when the last General Conference, by the rubric prefixed to the ritual for the consecration of bishops, for the first time officially declared that the bishopric among us was an office and not an order, he felt as if his legislative career had been happily crowned, and whether he inspired it or not, rejoiced over it as over his own child.

Thus also is light thrown upon his occasional manner toward the bishops when presiding in his own Conference. The least suspicion on his part of the undue exercise of influence and authority would provoke an appeal from a decision, or a stout insistence on what he deemed his privilege as a traveling preacher. Those who knew him well were aware that there lay on his heart, as a needed legislative change, the increase of the authority and dignity of the Annual Conference. He had, in private conversation, committed himself, in view of the fact that our General Conference has but one house, and was likely therefore to legislate under impulses of strong feeling, to the plan of proceeding in the supreme body by overture from the Annual Conferences, after the Presbyterian manner, especially if laymen should be admitted to the Annual Conference. In comparison with this all other changes seemed to him insignificant.

Whether right or wrong, he connected the itinerant system with the liberty of the traveling preacher, and, for the first time, we believe, did, in the last General Conference, turn his face toward a more elastic policy. Then he dreaded the invasion of ministerial authority from the side of the pew, believing that, with the considerable extension of the term of service or the removal of the limitation, the preacher would pass from the restricted rule of the bishops to the unrestricted control of the people.

But if he sometimes criticised with rigor, in speeches and writings of a more than subacid flavor, features in our polity which might be misused, there can be no question of his general loyalty to our system. He defended it eagerly before the outside world, and largely kept his criticisms for the family circle. And, in passing, it may be remembered that it was his voice which presented the report on the election of a missionary bishop for Africa; and if, in the whirlwind of emotion which the opportunity to recognize the apostolic labors of William Taylor created, he found himself carried beyond his intention, he was large enough to hope and believe that God used him to build better than he knew. But his reverence for law, as well as his deliberate study of legal questions, led him to write that conservative article on the stirring question of Bishop Taylor's status which has already appeared in these pages.

While speaking of his legislative divergences from many of his brethren, it may be well to allude to his theological divergences. While unable to follow him in some of his statements, the brethren of his own Conference could not doubt his substantial orthodoxy. He certainly, on some occasions, gave reason for suspecting a greater sympathy with the doctrine of divine sovereignty, as stated by Calvinists, than is warranted by our authorities or the general consensus of the Church; but his statement of human freedom and responsibility, if given at the same time, would have furnished a considerable corrective. So also his conversational expositions of the guilt of original sin would startle those who look upon the results of Adam's transgression upon his posterity rather as deprivation than depravation; rather as inherited disability than personal guilt. Here the tendency of the Scotch-Irish mind to Calvinistic doctrine would seem to be apparent. In his leaning toward a spiritual resurrection, as well as in his recently published views on doctrinal changes, he indicated a further movement of his intellect from adhesion to accustomed statement. But it is only justice to remember that Daniel Curry sometimes experimented intellectually. He loved to whet his broadax on the hatchets of his brethren. He believed in free thought as the safeguard against formalism in orthodoxy. He liked to put things in such a way as to provoke dissent and

criticism. He was eager that Methodism should not be stagnant in thought. He felt that Methodism, however true to the old faith, was not sufficiently considerate of that class of sincere doubters and sincere believers who are drawn together by doctrinal difficulties. He feared that the atmosphere of doctrinal repose so characteristic of Methodism might produce intellectual torpidity. He mourned over the fewness of doctrinal publications from Methodist pens, and dreaded lest the world should come to think that Methodism had no modern Fletchers and Wesleys to take full part in investigation and controversy. For creedless men and for unthinking believers he had equally small liking. He was anxious that his advancing years should not induce intellectual superannuation. So he tested his powers by making excursions into new fields, forgetting, perhaps, that the modern literature of the higher criticism had not yet been fully weighed and its value determined by exegetical and historical scholars. With these thoughts in mind some of his most peculiar deliverances are to be read.

As an editor he belonged to the waning school of personal journalism. While on the *Advocate*, its readers were apt to look, not at the scope of the paper as a religious family journal, but at what Dr. Curry had to say. He could hardly be called a condensed and pithy writer. Many of his editorials were long essays on doctrine or polity, and have permanent place in his published volume of Titanic "*Fragments*." His choice of contributed articles often gave evidence that his personality determined the admissions to his columns. When he printed articles advocating views contrary to his own he sometimes interjected exclamations of dissent, or followed them with footnotes which broke their force. Thus at length was born the feeling that the *Advocate*, in his hands, was his personal organ, and not that of the Church. His habit, in this respect, became, together with his opinions on Church polity, in time the ground of serious opposition. His personal views, published in an official paper, and with that *ex-cathedra* tone which was natural to him, were accepted in outer circles as the views of the Church. For some years, then, his radical opinions on some points and conservative tendencies on others, together with his inability to discriminate between personal and official utterance, kept our Church and its polity under discussion in such

a way as to withdraw from his management some of the approval which he had enjoyed, and with other causes to lead, after the longest incumbency any one has yet possessed, to the choice of another editor.

The change of the *Ladies' Repository* to another form found him at its head with small confidence in its success or in his fitness for the work. His feeling on these points he freely expressed, and no one was less surprised at the failure of that costly and short-lived experiment.

During a single quadrennium he was occupied with largely nominal pastorates, as an editorial contributor to the *Methodist*, as a free lance in the periodicals of several denominations, and in editing a new edition of the New Testament portion of Clarke's *Commentary*.

At the General Conference of 1884 he was elected to the editorship of the *Methodist Review* and General Books, and found himself once more at a congenial post. Without underrating the value of the contributed articles, it is not too much to say that its measure of success has since his accession been largely due to the interest which his views on doctrine, polity, and methods commanded. Some of his best work has appeared in these pages. Notwithstanding his advanced age, he wrote with all his old-time vigor. His eye was on the whole Church in the whole world, and, had he lived, his opinions would have been eagerly read by those who are to be members of the next General Conference. Already he has discussed one at least of the great questions which will demand the attention of that body, and it was his purpose to consider them all in turn. It is hard to think of a General Conference without him.

This presentation of the character and career of Daniel Curry would be far more incomplete were no allusion made to his relations with the brethren of his own Conference. Those who know that body are aware that it is one of the most independent of the subordinate organizations of Methodism. Its sessions are always animated. It believes in discussion, and has long been one of the best debating schools in the Church. To these qualities Dr. Curry has been a chief contributor, and if any others shared the honors of leadership with him they have been among the first to acknowledge the benefit of his inspiration and training. The independence and courage which he taught,

on more than one occasion brought penalty on himself. He was not always able to carry his point, nor secure himself from formulated criticism. The severest defeats of his life he owed to those qualities in his brethren which he himself had fostered. He was fond of regarding himself as the school-master of younger men, and would laughingly say to one who had done well, "You learned that from me." Indeed, as he walked out of Conference with a group of young men about him, he seemed to reproduce by his comment, his questions, and his badinage, the ancient Porch or Academy.

He did not pretend that he was indifferent to disappointment or unmortified by defeat. But he was great enough to keep his personal relations with his antagonists within Christian limits, and was always prompt in recognizing strength. Thus he would be found at dinner with some opponent an hour after a gallant fight, and would chaff, criticise, and compliment his foes with infectious good humor.

He showed a noble courage in scrutinizing candidates for admission to the Conference, whether on trial or in full connection, and yet managed to preserve the respect and love of those who were worsted by his action. He believed that this scrutiny ought to be firmly exercised at the time when the young minister begins his probation. Two years of work, in his thought, gave the candidate for full connection just expectation of admission, and he would sometimes plead for mercy to one who was about to be dropped. It was in private intercourse, in the Conference *tête-à-tête*, that he found the greatest delight and the strongest cement of regard. He never acted as if he was above the humblest or beneath the highest. The burdened country circuit pastor had access as close and confidential as he of the most easy and lucrative post; and when money was needed to smooth the way to superannuation, or to relieve a brother pursued by calamity, his hand was quickly and generously open. While a master of parliamentary order, he did not always contribute to parliamentary decorum. Side remarks, witty interruptions, and conversational thrusts often punctuated business and debate. To the Rev. Dr. Pullman the writer is indebted for the following happy statement of his Conference relations: "When he first came among us we feared him; after years we revered him, and finally came to love him."

It is certainly true that as age came upon him he grew increasingly lovable. As a guest he was simply delightful, showing toward women and children a deference and delicacy which contrasted strongly with his masterful bearing. He became gentle where once he would have been rough; yielding where once obstinate; considerate where once indifferent; tender where once stoical. He learned to melt under fraternal sympathy, and to weep under religious emotion. And this was no accompaniment of intellectual decay, but the ripening of grace and the mellowing of strength. Over his dead brethren he lamented with majestic pathos, and heaven drew nearer to him as he followed them with longing eyes.

To such a character religion must have been at first chiefly a principle and a conviction. Like the psalmist, he "meditated in the law of the Lord." His nature made him strenuous in the performance of religious duty. Just as men who saw him in conflict could find no figure for him but a wave-washed rock, so in much of his ministerial life he must be compared to the steamer which plows and not to the ship which conquers head-winds by yielding to them. But in these later years he talked no less of principle but more of practice; dwelt less upon the intellectual aids to faith than upon the experimental confirmations of truth; and sentences linger in the memory of friends which seem the final phrasings of enthusiastic belief. The last time the writer met him he was found sitting upon the threshold of a great store, with strength too small to reach his office unaided. Half disdainfully welcoming the proffered arm he talked a moment of his pain, and then launched into a monologue on his spiritual condition which lasted long after he was resting on the lounge in his office. Among the many utterances of that memorable hour, this remains in verbal accuracy: "When one studies this universe only with the eye of an agnostic, all he sees is what an agnostic sees; but when the Lord Jesus Christ, in his great and merciful surgery, removes blindness, then one sees God and knows that his Redeemer liveth."

It was not easy for such a man to yield his hold on life. He belonged to a long-lived race. He found himself in vigor when a multitude of younger men had for years been buried. He had a great work to do. The great council in which he had so often taken a leading part was near at hand. The presidency

of his *alma mater* was vacant, and his vote could influence selection. He was a trustee of Drew Seminary, and had given and planned for its future. For years a member of the Missionary Board, and many times its representative on the General Committee, the time was in sight when he might touch the whole world with his hand. Yet he had been shaken by bereavements in his own family. The virile inheritance of his brothers failed to keep them on earth. Even before he felt the pangs which wasted strength, he thought that his time was short. Yet the world was so full of opportunity, its pace so great, and new questions, social, political, religious, were so abundant, that the strong man hoped for ten years of working life. Shortly after the interview of which mention has been made he went to Ocean Grove, in hope of rallying from increasing weakness. The lamp did for a time blaze up. Now the spiritual fires burned brilliantly. He became a prophet, a seer, a saint. All who talked with him left him with benediction. Rapture came with weakness. The soul soared as its physical weights diminished. Not in dreams, but with open eye, he saw "the goodly company and fellowship of the first-born." The veterans at rest seemed to enter the earthly life again to strengthen his faith and promise welcome. His deep conviction of undeserving sinfulness was lost in the assurance of redeeming love. Hosannas were on his lips.

Yet it was granted to him to die in his own home, and sooner than most expected. His conversation on the day of his death, without directly asserting it, is seen now to have indicated his conviction that it was his last on earth. He kept his loved ones near him by gentle hints, and fell on sleep as if a wearied spirit had found a Father's arms. D. A. Goodsell.

Art. II.—MOMMSEN'S ROMAN PROVINCES.*

The history of the world has been written too much from the stand-point of its so-called great men and of its leading states. The warriors, the kings, the statesmen, have occupied the stage, and the masses of the people have been relegated to obscurity. We have been informed with scrupulous care upon what fortunate day this or that prince first saw the light of day; we have been made familiar with his personal characteristics, and even with his personal appearance; we have been introduced into his palace and have witnessed his occupations, serious and trivial. The most insignificant of his words and actions have been rehearsed to us, as if nothing pertaining to such august personages must be allowed to pass into oblivion. So clumsily, indeed, is this irrelevant recital made, that all due sense of relative importance seems obliterated, and a picture arises before the mind's eye as false to nature as it is defiant of all the rules of the art of perspective. Much of the illustration which passes current under the name of historical delineation of men, whether in the contemporary novel or in more formal treatises of past events, lies open to censure. The observation of the eminent Rapin de Thoyras is as appropriate now as when it was first made, nearly two centuries ago:

> The portraits and characters of persons are good embellishments of history, if accurately performed. But our romancers have corrupted our genius in this respect. We make too many pieces without the least resemblance, and such as agree to nobody, because they agree to all the world. We take a pleasure in painting the face and mien of persons, and those outward features, which we have really nothing to do with. What shall I be the better for knowing whether Hannibal had a fine set of teeth, provided his historian acquaint me with the greatness of his genius—if he display to me a hardiness and restlessness of spirit, a vast and enterprising thought, and a fearless heart; and all these qualities animated with an irregular ambition and sustained by a more than athletic constitution, which is the picture we have of him in Livy? †

* *The Provinces of the Roman Empire from Cæsar to Diocletian.* By Theodor Mommsen. Translated by William P. Dickson, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Divinity in the University of Glasgow. With ten maps by Professor Kiepert. Two volumes, 8vo. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1887.

† *Reflections upon History.* Critical Works, translated by Kennet, ii, 302.

Meanwhile, it is quite in keeping with the extravagant prominence assigned to unimportant details of the personal portraiture of the rulers, that the *people* have secured but scant notice, that the story of the weal or woe of the great masses of the population has been for the most part untold. Peace, we are told, hath its victories as well as war; but in the clamor of armies, amid the shouts of the contending forces, and through the smoke of battle, our eyes can scarcely discern the details of those more humble, and possibly more homely, scenes of the every-day life of the husbandman and artisan, far from the din of conflict. It is, in fact, only in our own times that the rights of the people, of civilization, to a hearing in the halls of history have been vindicated, and that the ablest of scholars and the most skillful of writers have recognized the work of tracing the successive steps in the upward progress of the poor and down-trodden toward freedom and social equality, as a task worthy of the exertion of the most resplendent abilities. The esteem enjoyed by the philosophical investigations of Guizot into the progress of society collectively, and of the individual man during the Middle Ages, not less than the popularity of Macaulay's pictures of life in England in the seventeenth century, exhibit at least the fact that our age has awaked to the value of a long-neglected branch of research.

It is to the credit of Theodor Mommsen that he has noticed and has set himself to remedy a somewhat analogous injustice done to the provinces of the great Roman Empire. The effulgence of that wonderful city, the prowess of whose citizens, assisted by a marvelous concurrence of propitious events in world history, secured for it a domain almost co-extensive with the known portions of the globe, has dazzled the eye to such a degree as to prevent the observer from seeing the conquered provinces save in their relations to Rome. Not, indeed, but that before these provinces were merged in the empire their fortunes received attention and historical treatment. Without referring to the great monarchies of the East, to Egypt, to Judea, to Greece, we may notice that even such comparatively insignificant districts as Libya and Arabia were made the subjects of antiquarian research even in Roman times. But the Jubas and Josephuses concluded their works at the incorporation of the countries of which they treated in the vast empire

that doubtless appeared to them to be the ultimate government, the reservoir into which all streams of nationality had been seen to pour, but from which none had ever yet been known to emerge. By the side of Rome no other city of the world was worthy of account; consequently no city but Rome, no country but Italy, was entitled to separate treatment. And yet of the millions of men, women, and children in the Roman Empire the vast majority inhabited the provinces. These multitudes outside of Italy were touched but very superficially by the events that occurred in the "eternal city." The rise or fall of emperors affected only in a very remote degree the provincials, who, beyond the acknowledgment of the authority of a sovereign whose face they never saw, and beyond the payment of tribute to support his state, had little in common with the dwellers upon the banks of the Tiber. What was the condition, moral and intellectual, of these untold numbers of so called barbarians? How was the conflict waged between the native and the imported superstitions? What was the resultant gain and loss? How was the way paved for a higher civilization? These are some of the inquiries which the ordinary histories of the Roman Empire make little effort to answer. They are the inquiries which Mommsen in his new work has attempted to meet, and which to some extent he does meet. We say to some extent, because the undertaking is by no means an easy one. There are lamentable gaps in our sources of information, chasms which no ingenuity at this late date can hope to fill. Our informants, or, more correctly speaking, those who might have been our informants had they chosen or known how to enlighten us, have for the most part adopted a course savoring less of caprice than of perversity. The better we become acquainted with the subject the more we shall be inclined to regard Mommsen's strong words in his Introduction as none too strong: "Any one who has recourse to the so-called authorities for the history of this period—even the better among them—*finds difficulty in controlling his indignation* at the telling of what deserved to be suppressed, and at the suppression of what there was need to tell." The great problems that confront the student of their pages are precisely those to which they do not even pretend to furnish an answer. Among these problems is the radical inquiry into the reasons

of the success of the Latin-Greek civilization in molding to a great extent, and in securing the prosperity of, the whole ancient world, from the borders of Persia to the shores of the German Sea. Dr. Mommsen says (i, 5):

> Old age has not the power to develop new thoughts and display creative activity, nor has the government of the Roman Empire done so; but in its sphere, which those who belonged to it were not far wrong in regarding as the world, it fostered the peace and prosperity of the many nations united under its sway longer and more completely than any other leading power has ever succeeded in doing. It is in the agricultural towns of Africa, in the homes of the vine-dressers on the Moselle, in the flourishing townships of the Lycian mountains, and on the margin of the Syrian desert that the work of the imperial period is to be sought and to be found. Even now there are various regions of the East, as of the West, as regards which the imperial period marks a climax of good government, very modest in itself, but never withal attained before or since; and, if an angel of the Lord were to strike the balance whether the domain ruled by Severus Antoninus was governed with the greater intelligence and the greater humanity at that time or in the present day—whether civilization and national prosperity generally have since that time advanced or retrograded—it is very doubtful whether the decision would prove in favor of the present. But, if we find that this was the case, we ask of our surviving books, for the most part in vain, How came it to be so? They no more give an answer to this question than the traditional accounts of the earlier republic explain the mighty phenomenon of the Rome which, in the footsteps of Alexander, subdued and civilized the world.

The two volumes now before us form a remote sequel to the four volumes of the English translation (the three of the original German edition), in which the history of Rome is traced from the foundation of the city to the overthrow of the republic by the institution of the new monarchy by Julius Cæsar. The last installment of that history was given to the world just thirty years ago. For almost an entire generation the learned author has been pursuing with undivided attention that branch of antiquarian research in which no scholar of our own or of recent times has shown himself his equal, and adding to the rich stores of knowledge in the monumental work entitled, *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.* The general public, as well as scholars, who set a high estimate upon his achievements in the larger field of Roman law, and in the study of

ancient civilization, had almost settled down in the belief that the world would see no more of the fruits of his patient investigations to elucidate the obscure points in the history of the state to which rightfully belonged the proud title of mistress of the globe. This apprehension has been dispelled. Yet the author, now in his seventieth year, gives us little encouragement to hope that he may yet complete his great historical theme. The political fortune of Rome itself —the story of the succession of the emperors that filled the throne of the Cæsars for three centuries before the establishment of Christianity — Theodor Mommsen has not yet narrated. Nor does he seem to regret much the gap which he has suffered to remain between his earlier work and that which now occupies us. Others have handled, and handled well, this important period. The original sources are so copious and so trustworthy that later accounts seem of necessity to be little more than reproductions of the delineations of men and things handed down to us by antiquity. But this is by no means true of the history of the provinces of the empire. Says Dr. Mommsen:

> There is, if I am not mistaken, no comprehensive survey anywhere accessible to the public to which this work addresses itself; and it is owing, as it seems to me, to the want of such a survey, that the judgment of that public as to the Roman imperial period is frequently incorrect and unfair.

The work is very methodical in the distribution of topics, and the order is both natural and simple. In the eight chapters of the first volume Dr. Mommsen passes under review successively the Northern Frontier of Italy, Spain, the Gallic Provinces, Roman Germany and the Free Germans, Britain, the Danubian Lands and the Wars on the Danube, Greek Europe, and Asia Minor. In the five chapters of the second volume, pursuing still further the same course around the Mediterranean Sea, he introduces us to the Euphrates Frontier and the Parthians, Syria and the Land of the Nabatæans, Judea and the Jews, Egypt, and the African Provinces. The subjects are of unequal interest, a circumstance arising largely from the comparative wealth of information respecting the more highly favored regions; but all are studied carefully and conscientiously. Let us add that the author and his translator have

done much, if not quite every thing they might have done, to make the story intelligible at all points, even those which could not by any possibility be rendered highly entertaining. Dr. Mommsen has called to his aid the eminent geographer Kiepert, and the result is, that we have in the first volume eight and in the second volume two beautifully executed maps, by means of which every statement calling for a clear understanding of the relative position of places can be thoroughly understood. It is rarely the case with the maps or atlases accompanying historical works that they seem to have emanated from the same source as the works themselves. There are at every turn vexatious discrepancies and contradictions. The boundaries of countries are stated in one way in the text and are laid down in another upon the map. We find upon the map a great abundance of cities and towns which are of no particular value to us, as their names never occur in the narrative; and, as an offset, we waste precious time in the unavailing search for cities, rivers, and mountains mentioned by the author, but evidently deemed by the map-maker quite unworthy of his attention. We have the exact reverse of this in the present instance. Either Dr. Mommsen has inspected Kiepert's maps, or Kiepert has carefully read Dr. Mommsen's narrative, for upon the maps there is nothing omitted and nothing superfluous. With the possible exception of so comparatively unimportant a point as a difference respecting the direction of the *Via Augusta* in a part of its course in Spain (i, 81), a pretty minute examination on our part has failed to disclose any disagreement between the geographical data of the two eminent authorities. To the translator, on the other hand, we are indebted for an excellent index. He would have removed every possible ground of complaint on the part of the reader had he been so thoughtful of our comfort as to provide a table of contents, giving the subject matter page by page. No history of any pretensions should at the present day be allowed to issue from the press unprovided with this double apparatus, which is indispensable to the highest utility of the work.

In the survey of a field every portion of which is rich in important additions to human knowledge, it is, of course, impossible to undertake a complete and exhaustive analysis. We

must confine ourselves to a few points, and to a very limited number of facts that strike us as of particular interest.

The extension of the Roman Empire presents more than one paradox to the student of history. By the time of the fall of the Commonwealth the victorious standards of the legions had been carried to the most improbable distances in certain directions, while they had failed to reach their natural destination in other quarters. The sea had proved no obstacle in the path of conquest, but wide plains and ranges of mountains had effectually checked the ardor of the most enterprising soldiers on the face of the earth. From the Euxine to the Pillars of Hercules the generals of the Republic established the undisputed supremacy of Rome; but they were appalled by the Alps, and by the great stretches of land beyond, with their sparse and shifting population of barbarian tribes. If the Romans were, in the strict sense of the word, a less maritime people than their neighbors the Greeks, they seem to have been little less uncomfortable than were the latter when they got to any considerable distance from the broad sea, and they were almost as ready as the returning ten thousand to shout "Thalatta! Thalatta!" if by any chance, when in doubt as to their bearings, they caught a glimpse of the wide expanse of waters upon which they always knew how to find their way when all roads by land failed them.

The Empire undertook what the Republic had shrunk from attempting—the reduction of the countries beyond the Alps in the direction of the North Sea. But the success of its efforts was, to say the least, far from satisfactory. For a time, it is true, the border of the state bade fair to be advanced from the Rhine, which the brilliant generalship of Julius Cæsar had virtually secured, to the line of the river Elbe. Nor is it altogether plain why the policy which aimed at this permanent accession was abandoned, and that, too, so suddenly as to give to the change almost the appearance of inconsistency or caprice. Dr. Mommsen does little more than suggest some considerations that might have had weight with Augustus, and subsequently with Tiberius. The defeat of Varus and the almost total destruction of his army was a serious blow, but the Romans had met with such blows before, and had only been incited by them to redoubled energy. They had not only

repaired the damage, but had placed themselves so much better before the world as to show that their successes were due to their merits; their reverses, humanly speaking, to the accidents to which all men are liable. To acknowledge weakness by retiring from an attempt in the prosecution of which disaster had been encountered was little in keeping with their known character. And if, as Dr. Mommsen observes, the battle of Varus is an enigma—not in its course, but in its consequences—it is even more inexplicable that Germanicus, after his brilliant campaigns, should have been summarily recalled merely in consequence of the destruction of a portion of his fleet by the angry winds and waves of the North Sea, in one of its not uncommon autumnal storms. We seem forced to conclude that Augustus had slowly reached the conviction—which a few years after his accession to the throne was also strongly impressed upon the mind of his successor—that the permanent conquest of the region between the Elbe and the Rhine was impracticable. The cost was a formidable one, and both emperors shrank from heaping new burdens upon a treasury already burdened to its utmost capacity. Moreover—and this was no unimportant matter—the legions posted upon the Rhine at the two great camps, at Vetera and Mogontiacum (Mainz), could accomplish what legions stationed two hundred and fifty or two hundred and seventy-five miles further east (as great a distance as from Paris to Geneva) could not accomplish. They could keep, and they did keep, the Gallic Provinces in subjection through fear. And so the emperors not only resigned themselves to leaving the *numbers* of Varus's legions unfilled—the 17th, 18th, and 19th are never heard of again—but also to the abandonment of the task upon which Varus had entered.

The civilizing, or, more properly speaking, the Romanizing of the Spanish peninsula was more thoroughly accomplished than that of any other region outside of Italy. By the time of Augustus there were fifty communities upon the inhabitants of which the rights of full citizenship had been conferred, and there were nearly as many more that had received Latin rights, and, so far at least as their internal organization was concerned, were on an equality with the former class. Nothing like this could be shown in Gaul or in any other part of the world. Spain and

the modern Portugal were made thoroughly Roman in dress, in manners, in language. For the most part, the native Iberian tongue came to be spoken only in the north-western part of the peninsula, where, driven up to the mountain slopes of the Pyrenees, it has subsisted until the present day in the form of the Basque, that *crux* of linguistic students. It is significant that "monuments with native writing from the imperial period" are hardly to be found at all in Spain, while they are discovered in fair numbers in neighboring Africa. But what betrays more distinctly the complete change of things is, the position which Spain assumes in Latin literature. Cicero, in the first century before the Christian era, did indeed sneer as the poets of Corduba (Cordova), and even in the Augustan age Spanish *literati* are little heard of. But already, in the second half of the first century after Christ, to use Dr. Mommsen's words, the Spaniards undertook in Latin literature "almost the part, if not of leader, at any rate of school-master." Marcus Porcius Latro, Ovid's teacher and model, was a native of Cordova. So were Marcus Annæus Seneca and his more famous son the philosopher, and Lucan, author of the epic poem *Pharsalia*. Quintilian, whom Mommsen well styles the pearl of Spanish-Latin authorship, was of Calagurris, on the Ebro; while the great epigrammatic poet of Latin literature, Martial, was born at Bilbilis, in Aragon, near the borders of Old Castile.

> The Gallic rhetors, the great African ecclesiastical authors, have as Latin writers retained in some measure a foreign complexion; no one would recognize the Senecas and Martial by their manner and style as belonging to one or another land; in hearty love to his own literature, and in subtile understanding of it, never has any Italian surpassed the teacher of languages from Calagurris.*

For the local distribution of genius no rules can be assigned, but for the more complete assimilation of Spain and Portugal than of Gaul to Roman ways of thinking two causes may be found: Andalusia had fully a century and a half the start of central France in coming under the government of the Roman state; and ever thereafter Cartagena and Cordova, although geographically farther distant from Rome than Paris or Orleans, were practically not half so far off from the capital, because in regular and constant intercourse with it by the sea; a highway

* Mommsen, i, 84.

of nations needing no costly constructions to make it passable, and, after the suppression of piracy, comparatively free from dangers attending travel by land. Add to this the important fact, that while the expense for the young man studiously inclined who might wish to frequent the schools of Rome from the valleys of the Loire or the Seine must have been a formidable obstacle, his brother from the banks of the Guadalquivir, if he chose to "rough it" upon the merchant vessel, could doubtless reach Ostia for a sum which would now appear absurdly small.*

In reading the interesting account which Dr. Mommsen gives of the civilization of the Gallic Provinces, we cannot but be struck with the variety of influences that were at work and the consequent variety in the results. Long before the Romans set foot in the territory now known as France, the Greeks had established their colonies upon its southern coast, and Massilia, the modern Marseilles, was built or re-peopled by the fugitives from the city of Phocæa, who preferred to set fire to their dwellings and temple-shrines and take to their ships rather than submit to Persian rule. The story of their successive settlements in Corsica, at Velia in Italy, and at Marseilles may be shrouded in obscurity; but respecting the permanence of the culture which they introduced into the south of France,—a culture whose traces can be seen to the present day—there can be no question. This Greek culture was the first humanizing instrumentality providentially used in the territory between the Alps and the British Channel, and it was never obliterated by the more strictly Roman civilization that followed in the course of time. As bearing upon this point, we note one interesting remark derived from Dr. Mommsen's own favorite branch of antiquarian study. As might have been expected, the conquerors seem to have proscribed the old language of the conquered so far as any official use of it was concerned. On the coins struck under the Romans and upon the monuments erected on

* We have no reason to think that the conditions differed essentially from those that held in the age of the Athenian commonwealth. The ship's cargo was the chief and almost the sole concern of the master, and, in comparison with the freight, the gain to be derived from passengers carried was an insignificant matter. Hence the startlingly low fares which Socrates is made by Plato, in his *Georgias* (i, 511), to name as prevailing in his time—two oboli (six or seven cents of our money) from Ægina, and at most (πάμπολυ) two drachmas (about thirty-five cents) from Egypt or Pontus to the port of Piræus.

behalf of the community, Dr. Mommsen is our authority for stating that there has been found no demonstrably Celtic inscription. But the use of the native language was not interfered with in other directions. We have Celtic inscriptions on private monuments as well in northern as in southern France, but with this marked difference: those that emanate from the north are always written with the Latin alphabet, those from the south just as uniformly employ the Greek alphabet.*

It was in great part this preliminary preparation that gave to Gallia Narbonensis a type easily susceptible of modification by contact with the Roman system. This extensive province, reaching from Tolosa (Toulouse) on the west to the Rhône, and northeastward as far as to Geneva, covered the territory later occupied by Languedoc, together with Provence and Dauphiné. Here it was that Roman institutions found a congenial soil.

The old cantonal organization characteristic of the Celts gave place to the organization affected by the Romans, and, not to speak of colonies such as Narbo itself, at one time the most populous place in all France, cities began to line the course of the Rhône with Latin rights and in full sympathy with the mother city. Nemausus, or Nîmes, Vienna, the modern Vienne, and Arelate, or Arles, were among the number. On the other hand, the "three Gauls," as they were called—Aquitania, Lugudunensis, and Belgica—retained their special Celtic character. They still kept up their communal divisions. With the single exception of Lyons (Lugudunum) there was not a city in this wide territory that boasted the possession of Latin rights, and Lyons was less a city belonging to any one of the three provinces than their common capital, deriving from this circumstance and from its admirable commercial position an importance which it has never ceased to possess, even down to our own times. Its isolated position, with a very contracted district of its own, at the head of and yet belonging to no one of the three provinces, Dr. Mommsen not without reason compares to the relation which the city of Washington occupies to the States constituting our own North American Union.

A subject which it seems to us that Dr. Mommsen has set forth with greater distinctness and in a more satisfactory man-

* Vol. i, pp. 108, 109.

ner than any previous writer whom we have met with, is the character of the Celtic cantons. He says:

> The cantons, at least as they present themselves among the Celts and the Germans, are, throughout, tribes more than townships; this very essential element was peculiar to all Celtic territories, and was often covered over rather than obliterated even by the subsequent Romanizing. Mediolanum and Brixia were indebted for their wide bounds and their lasting power essentially to the fact that they were, properly speaking, nothing but the cantons of the Insubres and the Cenomani. The facts that the territory of the town of Vienna (Vienne on the Rhône) embraced Dauphiné and western Savoy, and that the equally old and almost equally considerable townships of Cularo (Grenoble) and Ganava (Geneva) were down to late imperial times, in point of law, villages of the colony of Vienna, are likewise to be explained from the circumstance that this was the later name of the tribe of the Allobroges. In most of the Celtic cantons one township so thoroughly predominates that it is one and the same thing whether we name the Remi or Durocortorum, the Bituriges or Burdigala.*

The learned author might here have observed that this fact explains a circumstance that must have struck every one who has compared attentively the map of ancient Gaul with that of modern France; namely, that the names of the present cities are perhaps about as frequently derived from the name of the canton or tribe as they are from that of the principal settlement. If Bordeaux derives its name from Burdigala, Rheims has taken the cantonal designation. So Lutetia Parisiorum has become Paris, and Chartres and Tours are variations upon the names of the Carnutes and Turones. Dr. Mommsen continues:

> The specialty of the position of the Celts under the Roman rule as compared with other nations—the Iberians, for example, and the Hellenes—turns on this, that these larger unions continued to subsist as communities in the former case, while in the latter those constitutional elements of which they were composed formed the communities. Old diversities of national development belonging to the pre-Roman epoch may have co-operated in the matter; it may possibly have been more easily practicable to take away from the Bœotians the joint diet of their towns than to break up the Helvetii into three or four districts; political unions maintain their ground even after subjugation under a central power, in cases where their dissolution would bring about disorganization. Yet what was done in Gaul by Augustus, or, if it be preferred, by Cæsar, was brought about not by the force of circumstances, but chiefly by the free resolution of the govern-

* Vol. i, pp. 98, 99.

ment, as it alone was in keeping with the forbearance otherwise exercised toward the Celts. For there was, in fact, in the pre-Roman time, and even at the time of Cæsar's conquest, a far greater number of cantons than we find later. In particular, it is remarkable that the numerous smaller cantons attached by clientship to a larger one did not in the imperial period become independent, but disappeared. If subsequently the Celtic land appears divided into a moderate number of considerable, and some of them even very large, canton-districts, within which dependent cantons nowhere make their appearance, this arrangement had the way, no doubt, paved for it by the pre-Roman system of clientship, but was completely carried out only under the Roman reorganization.

Our limits will not permit us to go more fully into this subject. We may, however, call attention to the great contrast between the two sides of the Pyrenees in regard to territorial subdivision, and the necessary results of that contrast. On the south of the mountains lay the province known as Tarraconensis, comprising possibly two thirds of the Spanish peninsula. Its superficial area would seem to have varied little from that of the united three Gauls, but on the whole it was somewhat less. Yet whereas Tarraconensis was split up into two hundred and ninety-three independent communities, the three Gauls numbered together only sixty-four of them. The Iberian cantons, consequently, were nothing but so many little districts, quite incapable of uniting in the pursuit of any common plans for the advantage of the nation, had they even been able to conceive so lofty an ideal as a fatherland. It was a case of complete surrender to a foreign state. The Celtic cantons, on the contrary, maintained a unity, and political as well as religious traditions, which the Romans either did not care or did not dare to interfere with. They were a power under the Empire precisely as they had been a power when Julius Cæsar set about the work of compelling them to recognize Roman supremacy. They retained their ancient noble houses with the extraordinary influence they had swayed from of old. The Roman government permitted them to possess a measure of military authority, to garrison certain forts, and to have a militia which their own magistrates could, when occasion required, call out and command. They even received at the hands of the Emperor Augustus, or his representative, Drusus, twelve years before the Christian era, a species of national constitution. On

the first day of August, from that time forward, the festival of "Rome and the Genius of Augustus" was celebrated in connection with the altar dedicated to those divinities by Drusus, at Lugudunum or Lyons. Then and there it was that the delegates of the sixty-four cantons met to select the "priest of the three Gauls," and to exercise certain functions of a religious as well as a civil character, of whose nature we have little precise knowledge.

As in Germany the emperors Augustus and Tiberius settled in their minds a boundary beyond which it was inexpedient to push the conquests of Rome, so in Britain their successors upon the imperial throne stopped short of the reduction of the entire island, preferring to leave the Caledonians undisturbed in the highlands of Scotland. The overgrown empire had become sluggish, or it had lost its power of assimilation, and itself recognized the fact. Hence arose the two Roman walls, built with the object of keeping within bounds the troublesome northern neighbors of the British province. The wall of Hadrian came first in point of time, early in the second century of our era; a work remarkable for its good preservation at the end of seventeen hundred and fifty years from its erection, and pronounced by Dr. Mommsen to be more completely understood than any other of the great military structures of the Romans. It was, strictly speaking, a military road, seventy miles in length, connecting the mouth of the river Tyne with the Solway Firth, and was strongly protected on either side—on the north by a fosse and a high stone wall, and on the south by earthen embankments. The wall built by Antoninus Pius, about a score of years later, ran from the Firth of Forth to the Firth of Clyde, a distance not much over a half as great, and was an inferior work, little more, in fact, than an advanced post for Hadrian's wall, which it was intended to assist, not to replace. Within these fortifications, and protected by a force of Roman soldiers estimated at thirty thousand men, Britain would seem to have been a province by no means to be despised. The comforts and even the luxuries of life could readily be obtained by the wealthy. The beautiful mosaic pavements discovered in great numbers in various portions of the island betray the fact that the villas of the rich and noble were as spacious and magnificent as they were at the

same period on the Rhine and other favored districts. None of these villas, however, so far as known, were farther north than the present city of York. Literary culture followed in the wake of material prosperity. "In Hadrian's time Britain is described as a region conquered by the Gallic school-masters, and 'even Thule itself speaks of hiring a professor for itself.' These school-masters were in the first instance Latin, but Greeks also came. Plutarch tells of a conversation which he held at Delphi with a Greek teacher of languages from Tarsus, returning home from Britain" (i, 211). Both in language and in culture Britain became thoroughly Roman, and the islanders held firmly to the Empire until the Empire cast them off, the last we hear of them in this connection being their "earnest entreaty" to the Emperor Honorius, about the beginning of the fifth century, to afford them help against the incursions of the Saxons, and the Emperor's ungracious answer, dictated either by conscious weakness or by unconcern, that they must shift for themselves.

We must pass hastily over Dr. Mommsen's long and exhaustive discussion of the affairs of the Danubian Provinces—a portion of his work that displays to advantage the writer's great familiarity with the monumental remains, and the good use that he knows how to put them to in remedying, as far as may be, the fragmentary character of the early chronicles of the Byzantine times. His remarks on the sculptures upon the famous column erected at Rome in the Forum of Trajan, to perpetuate the memory of the most warlike and victorious of the emperors of the second century, may be instanced as a very favorable specimen of the historian's style, his sentences being graphic and readable, even in translation. This general subject is, however, a painful one to the reader who is in full sympathy with the growth and development of the Roman power; for already, before the time of Constantine the Great and the transfer of the capital to the shores of the Bosphorus, the inroads of the northern tribes and the permanent loss of Dacia so soon after its conquest, show that the days are not far distant when the Goths and Huns will pour down with resistless force upon the fairest portions of the ancient world. Already the eastern parts of the Mediterranean Sea swarm with marauders whom it is often difficult to know whether to desig-

nate as warlike invaders or pirates. Meanwhile the Empire, so far as its supreme government is concerned, has become thoroughly *Illyrized*. The process can be easily traced. The imperial office had ceased to be either hereditary or conferred by election of the Senate. The legions set up whom they would, choosing generally their most popular officers. Now, since the legions were recruited from the inhabitants of the province in which they were stationed, the loyal districts to the south of the Danube, along which much of the army was massed—sometimes as many as twelve legions—were most likely to furnish successful candidates for the throne of the Cæsars. So early as A. D. 235 we have Maximinus, a Thracian, and in 248 or 249 Decius, a Pannonian; and within the compass of thirty-seven years from the death of Gallienus we find mention of the election of not less than seven "barbarians" to be "Roman" emperors—two from each of the regions of Thrace, Dardania, and Pannonia, and one, Diocletian, from Dalmatia.

Among the subject provinces Greece occupied a unique position. The oft-repeated statement that if Rome by her arms had conquered the world, Greece by her arts and letters conquered Rome, was no mere sentiment. It was a sentiment that had a practical influence upon the relations of the irresistible city on the Tiber and the republics of Hellas, now shorn of all political or military importance. Achaia, as the easternmost of the Mediterranean peninsulas was now styled, was the petted, and therefore the spoiled, child of the family. Her vagaries were tolerated with a patience nowhere else extended; her whims were humored; her petulant sallies were checked, when checked they must be, without a resort to unnecessary harshness. Especially was this true of Athens, on whose part acts amounting to positive insolence were condoned under the Empire which would have drawn down upon a city less richly endowed with precious tradition speedy and condign punishment. Even the national pride received consideration. So far as practicable Greece was allowed to delude herself with the idea that she was still an independent state. With Athens and Sparta this was more than a fancy—it was almost a reality. "Athens was never placed under the fasces of the Roman governor, and never paid tribute to Rome. It always had a sworn alliance with Rome, and granted aid to the Romans only in an extraordinary and, at

least as to the form, voluntary fashion." Sparta, by reason of its great name, fared about as well. Both cities were gratified with accessions of territory. In the time of the Emperor Antoninus Pius, Athens was mistress not only of all its old dominion of Attica, but of about one half of Bœotia (Tanagra, Platæa, Thespiæ, and Haliartus), and of such islands as Salamis, Ceos, Delos, the islands off the promontory of Magnesia, Scyros, Lemnos, and Imbros. Sparta and the "Eleutherolakones" held between them more than the old territory of Lacedæmonia. Other cities, for one or another reason, were made free. In fact, the Emperor Nero, grateful that his poetical effusions had been hailed with applause by the Greeks, went to the length of pompously proclaiming the liberation of the entire country. It was to be delivered of Roman government, and exempt from tribute to the royal exchequer. But so thoroughly unprepared for this privilege, so utterly disqualified for self-government, were the Greeks, that the Emperor Vespasian was compelled, quite as much, we fancy, out of consideration for the best interests of Hellas itself as for those of the rest of his dominions, to recall Nero's concession, accompanying the change with the quiet observation that the Greeks had unlearned the art of being free.

A moment ago we likened Greece under the Roman Empire to a petted child; the comparison to a decrepit old man would in some regards be more accurate. It was no longer respected for what it was so much as for what it had been. Even in numbers there had been a great decline. Writing in the second half of the second century before Christ, Polybius had bewailed the fact that unfruitfulness in marriage and diminution of the population had in his time come over all Greece, without any general visitation of disease or war (i, 290). Strabo, a century later, tells us how that Thebes, one of the three chief Greek cities that once disputed the hegemony, had dwindled down until it scarcely deserved to be called a goodly village. Possibly it was not much larger than the settlement which the astonished traveler at the present day finds perched upon the top of the old Cadmean acropolis, with an abundance of unoccupied ground for habitations, if any one chose to build.

But more important than even the decline in population was

the loss of moral tone. The very foundations of manly character are sapped when there is engendered a habit of dependence upon others for that which one ought to look only to one's own brawny arms to secure. Athens had come to expect every thing to be done for it. Hadrian among other things "granted the inhabitants of that city the delivery of a certain quantity of grain at the expense of the Empire, and by the extension of this privilege, hitherto reserved for the capital, acknowledged Athens, as it were, as another imperial metropolis." Travelers and resident students made their contributions to the city's support, and rich men, aspiring to popular applause, opened their purse-strings in its behalf.

Yet, [says Dr. Mommsen, we should rather say consequently] the community was in constant distress. The right of citizenship was dealt with not merely in the way every-where usual of giving and taking, but was made formally and openly a matter of traffic, so that Augustus interfered to prohibit the evil. Once and again the council of Athens resolved to sell this or that one of its islands, and not always was there found a rich man ready to make sacrifices like Julius Nicanor, who, under Augustus, bought back for the bankrupt Athenians the island of Salamis, thereby earning from its senate the honorary title of the new "Themistocles." *

Dr. Mommsen's assertion is, however, too sweeping when he goes on to say:

The magnificent buildings with which Athens continued to embellish herself *were obtained without exception from foreigners*, among others from the rich kings Antiochus of Commagene and Herod of Judæa, but above all from the Emperor Hadrian, who laid out a complete 'new town' (*novæ Athenæ*) on the Ilissus, and—besides numberless other buildings, including the already mentioned Panhellenion—worthily brought to completion the wonder of the world, seven centuries after it had been begun, the gigantic building, commenced by Pisistratus, of the Olympieion, with its one hundred and twenty columns partly still standing, the largest of all that are erect at the present day.†

The words we have italicized are certainly incorrect. There was one notable instance of a native-born Greek who adorned the city with costly buildings, of which at least one is so well preserved as to attest its former grandeur. Tiberius Claudius Atticus Herodes, generally known as Herodes Atticus, an eminent rhetorician and philosopher, as well as the heir of a princely

* Vol. i, p. 301. † *Ibid.*, p. 302.

fortune, who was born at Marathon, and, it is said, within sight of the battle-field, well deserves to be styled, as Colonel Lake does style him, "one of the greatest among the benefactors of Athens."* The Panathenaic Stadium, "the proudest monument of his munificence," is, indeed, denuded of its superb coating of steps and seats made of the pure white Pentelican marble; but we know that the undertaking was of such magnitude as to require nearly four years for its completion. But the Odeum, or music theater, which Herodes Atticus built in honor of his wife Regilla, still stands in a tolerably good state of preservation at the south-western corner of the hill of the Acropolis, a building two hundred and forty feet in diameter, respecting whose magnificence we need only say that it was such that Pausanias, a contemporary, makes it surpass all other structures of the kind in Greece, both in size and in the other features of its construction.† A building which the architect Stuart could mistake for, and erroneously figure as, the great Theater of Bacchus,‡ must claim to rank among the "magnificent buildings" of Athens. As to the monarch named by Dr. Mommsen Herod of Judea (we understand him to refer to Herod the Great), Josephus does, indeed, represent him as having made munificent gifts for the repair of the public edifices of Chios and Lesbos, and to have earned by his lavish contributions to the Olympic games the title of perpetual president; but we are not aware that any ancient author ascribes to him the construction of any building, magnificent or otherwise, at Athens.

A life that has no aspirations—a life content to nurse ancient traditions, and priding itself not upon what it is doing or striving to do, but upon what ancestors have done in the past—can never make itself any thing but an object of merited contempt. Dr. Mommsen justly remarks:

> The bane of Hellenic existence lay in the limitation of its sphere; high ambition lacked a corresponding aim, and therefore the low and degrading ambition flourished luxuriantly.

* *The Topography of Athens, with some Remarks on its Antiquities.* By William Martin Leake. London, 1841. P. 189.

† Pausanias, *Descriptio Græciæ*, vii, 20, 6. It is interesting to notice that the topographer in this section apologizes for not having spoken of the Odeum in its proper place, by the statement that the portion of his work relating to the Athenians had been finished before Herodes began his building.

‡ *Antiquities of Athens*, vol. iii.

The rich—and despite prevailing poverty there were undoubtedly many such—were reluctant to enter either the public service of the empire or the personal service of the emperor. In either branch of employment they felt themselves at a disadvantage as foreigners, all the more so that fashion or national pride and prejudice had generally prevented them from acquiring a very great command of the Latin language. Even the order of the Emperor Claudius, depriving of the Roman franchise such Greeks as could not understand the Latin tongue, was not sufficiently powerful to compel the mass of the people to master the language of their conquerors. On the other hand, the municipal politics of the Greek cities offered but a very contracted field for the display either of ability or of patriotism. Of great and elevating lines of policy, of broad statesmanship, of plans for amelioration of the condition of the poor, of any thing, in short, to raise a man out of the narrow sphere of self and of a purely selfish existence—there was an absolute dearth. Religion was virtually dead. From the highest to the lowest, faith in the polytheistic system had died out. Zeus and Minerva were but empty names, utterly discredited by the rich and the learned, who were not, however, displeased to have any one that felt so disposed undertake any thing that might lead the vulgar back to a belief in the old pantheon of gods. Nothing seemed to possess much vitality in public affairs but the games, and the universal interest felt in these Dr. Mommsen shows to have been among the very worst signs of the times. Add to this the fact that, while laudable objects of ambition had been removed, the pursuit of empty honors was unabated, or indeed had even increased, and we have a sorry picture of Greece during a great part of the period covered by these volumes.

These towns, with their magistracies and priesthoods, with their laudatory decrees proclaimed by herald and their seats of honor in the public assemblies, with the purple dress and the diadem, with statues on foot and on horseback, drove a trade in vanity and money-jobbing worse than the pettiest paltry prince of modern times with his orders and titles. There would not be wanting even amidst these incidents real merit and honorable gratitude, but generally it was a trade of giving and taking, or, to use Plutarch's language, an affair as between a courtesan and her customers. As at the present day private munificence in the positive degree procures an order, in the superlative a patent of nobility, so it then procured the priestly purple and the statue in the

market place; and it is not with impunity that the state issues a spurious coinage of its honors.*

Among the most interesting portions of the second volume is the chapter that treats of "Syria and the Land of the Nabatæans." Syria was in a peculiar sense the "New Macedonia." Here the traces of the conquest by Alexander the Great were more plainly visible than in any other part of the East, and they were not effaced by the subsequent Roman possession. Here, more than in any other part, the very names of cities reminded one of the kingdom of Macedonia. Yet by the side of the Greek language the native Syriac continued to be spoken and to be written, not, indeed, for the most part in the composition of original works, but, so far at least as its extant remains would indicate, in the way chiefly of translations from other tongues. The civilization of Syria, into which Hellenism and the native element entered in more nearly equal proportions than in any other part of the world newly acquired by the Greeks, was a mongrel development, betraying to the most casual observer its spurious character. In their religion, in their social tendencies, in their excessive devotion to pleasure, in their mental inertness, in their barbaric luxury, the inhabitants of Antioch showed that they were Orientals, little in sympathy with the great movements of the nations bordering upon the great sea, whose eastern coast their territories touched. It was almost a matter of course that their intellectual progress should in no wise keep pace with their advance in wealth. Great intellectual achievements rarely fall to the lot of those whose pampered bodies are averse to strenuous exertions.

The "land of the Nabatæans" is but another name for the Roman province of Arabia. If the one designation is strange to western ears, the other is palpably incorrect. The Romans, who showed their good sense in not undertaking the impossible quite as often as in the prudent manner of securing what lay within the range of their powers, never tried to reduce the great peninsula that lies between what is distinctively Asia and the African continent, and seems to partake of the characteristics of both. They preferred to confine themselves to a little territory at the north-western angle of Arabia, upon which they pompously conferred the name belonging to the whole. The capital was

* Vol. i, 314, 315.

Petra. The prince who previously reigned there called himself "king of Nabat." His dominions stretched far northward, toward the domain of Syria proper, and cut off the Holy Land from the desert. Damascus, the oldest city on the face of the globe, was for a time a dependency of the petty monarch who, under Roman protection and owing allegiance to the emperor as his suzerain, dwelt in his rocky fastness at Petra. St. Paul alludes to this circumstance when, in 2 Cor. xi, 32, 33, he states as one of the many perils out of which the Lord had rescued him, "In Damascus the governor under Aretas the king kept the city of the Damascenes with a garrison, desirous to apprehend me: and through a window in a basket was I let down by the wall, and escaped his hands." It is not a little curious that, of the peculiar civilization "developed from the mixture of national and Greek elements in these regions during the five hundred years between Trajan and Mohammed," a more perfect notion can be gained than in respect to the state of many countries much nearer to us. The wonderful structures of Petra, with their façades of the Corinthian order cut out of the living rock, have been made familiar to us by the accounts and drawings of travelers from the time of Stephens down, and by the more exact reproductions of the photograph. The not less remarkable buildings of the Hauran (the Greek Auranitis) have been more recently brought to the popular notice, and consequently still possess somewhat of the charm of novelty. The reader who has kept up with the literature bearing upon Bible lands will not need to be reminded that these form part of the subject of the notable volume by Rev. J. L. Porter, *The Giant Cities of Bashan.* The rise of these cities—so far as they are of Roman origin—Dr. Mommsen dates from the impetus given by the transfer of the Roman legionary soldiers to Bostra, the Bozrah of Moab. Quoting from a French observer, M. Melchior de Vogué, he says:

> Every-where rose houses, palaces, baths, temples, theaters, aqueducts, triumphal arches; towns sprang from the ground within a few years with the regular construction and the symmetrically disposed colonnades which mark towns without a past.

According to Dr. Mommsen, the eastern and southern slopes of the Hauran show nearly three hundred such desolated towns and villages, while there are but five new townships now existing.

Several of the former, for example Bûsân, number as many as eight hundred houses of one to two stories, built throughout of basalt, with well jointed walls of square blocks, without cement, with doors mostly ornamented and often provided with inscriptions, the flat roof formed of stone rafters, which are supported by stone arches and made rain-proof above by a layer of cement. . . . The poor attempts at recolonizing of recent times find the houses habitable; there is wanting only the diligent hand of man, or rather the strong arm that protects it.*

Dr. Mommsen does not describe these cities so graphically or at such length as Mr. Porter; his limits do not allow him to do so. Nor does he mention the fact that, irrespective of the Roman constructions, there are a multitude of other and older buildings — deserted towns and villages still possessing essentially the same names as those they bore centuries before the foundation of the imperial city itself. The singular lava plateau of Argob (Trachonitis, now Lejah), the refuge of Absalom and of many another outlaw before and since, alone contained threescore great cities, "fenced with high walls, gates, and bars," "besides unwalled towns a great many." This was at the time that this region, the kingdom of Og, king of Bashan, was conquered by the Israelites, under the leadership of Moses. Deut. iii, 4, 5. That the number is not excessive is proved by the existing ruins. Mr. Porter tells us that in ascending to Hiyât, or Hit, not less than thirty of the threescore cities of Argob were in view at one time, their black houses and ruins half concealed by the black rocks amid which they are built, and their massive towers rising up here and there, like the keeps of old Norman fortresses.†

On first taking up these volumes we turned instinctively to one of its last chapters—that treating of Judea and the Jews —expecting to find in this portion of Dr. Mommsen's work more satisfaction than in the description of the fortunes of any other of the "Roman Provinces." We regret to say that we were disappointed. Dr. Mommsen is at his worst when he touches upon matters connected with the Holy Scriptures. The historian who would have his work enjoy a lasting place in the world's esteem must above all avoid assuming the position of a partisan, and pronouncing, upon incomplete evidence or disputed facts, a decision which may at any time be shown to be

* Vol. ii, p. 171. † *The Giant Cities of Bashan*, p. 28.

erroneous and untenable. Yet this is, we believe, precisely the attitude in which Dr. Mommsen has chosen unnecessarily to place himself. We say unnecessarily, for there is really nothing in the legitimate theme of his new history which calls for the expression of many of the views which he propounds. Least of all was it incumbent upon him to express them in a manner which must be styled offensive, because it dogmatically asserts as uncontroverted truth much that is contrary to the religious belief of the great mass of Christendom. Every body knows that there are critics who maintain that the Pentateuch, instead of being the oldest portion of the Bible, with the possible exception of Job, was written subsequently to the Babylonian captivity, and should rank with the most notable of ingenious fabrications, or, it may be, pious frauds. It was certainly not obligatory upon Dr. Mommsen, treating of a period five hundred years later than the return from that captivity, to go out of his way to indorse this new theory, and inform us that the Jews who came back to the Holy Land, while professing to live according to the statutes of Moses, in fact lived according to the statutes of Ezra and Nehemiah.* It is offensive, and amounts to little less than a sneer at the current belief of the Christian not less than the Jewish Church, when, some forty pages further on, Dr. Mommsen takes for granted, and asserts without giving a particle of proof, that the prophecy in the eighth chapter of Daniel, which purports to have been supernaturally received "in the third year of the reign of King Belshazzar," or about 553 B. C., according to Archbishop Usher's chronology, was a forgery of nearly or quite four hundred years later.† Of questionable taste is the insertion of the long note covering nearly four closely

* Mommsen, ii. 174, 175. The translator, Dr. Dickson, has here inserted the appropriate caution: "This statement, and several others of a kindred tenor in this chapter, appear to rest on an unhesitating acceptance of views entertained by a recent school of Old Testament criticism, as to which it may at least be said: *Adhuc sub judice lis est.*"

† "The thing—that is, the setting up of a pagan statue in the Holy of Holies—had been done once already; a like proceeding of the king of Syria, Antiochus Epiphanes, had been followed by a rising of the Maccabees and the victorious restoration of the free national state. That Epiphanes—the Anti-Messiah who ushers in the Messiah as the prophet Daniel had *certainly after the event*, delineated him—was henceforth to every Jew the prototype of abomination."—Mommsen, ii. 213.

printed pages, in which Dr. Mommsen turns theologian and determines *ex cathedra* who, in the Apocalypse of John (here styled "the classical revelation of Jewish self-esteem and of hatred toward the Romans"), is meant by Antichrist. But the old adage reminds us that of such matters each must judge for himself—"*de gustibus non est disputandum.*" Even so, however, we have the right to quarrel with one of the sentences in this note—a characteristic one—in which the writer, in the course of his unsupported theorizing (for it is nothing more) gratuitously ascribes the reticence of St. John to cowardice or pusillanimity. "If of the seven emperors Nero alone is named (by his numerical expression), this is so, not because he was the worst of the seven, but because the naming of the reigning emperor, while prophesying a speedy end of his reign in a published writing, *had its risk, and some consideration toward the one 'who is' beseems even a prophet.*" How are the mighty fallen! Here is one of the two brothers whom, because of their daring, our Lord himself had surnamed Sons of Thunder—one who, "for the word of God and for the testimony of Jesus Christ," was on "the isle that is called Patmos,"—who yet is afraid (we need not mince our words) to mention by his true name the potentate of whom he prophesies, lest he should offend his majesty, and possibly add his own name to the names of the many of whom he writes as having been "slain for the word of God, and for the testimony which they held." To do so "had its risk, and some consideration toward the one 'who is' beseems even a prophet!" There is no question about it; "this is so, . . . because," etc., says our author, who is quite certain that he is right.

Now, we beg leave to submit that this dogmatic assertion, this belittling of noble characters by imputing to them unworthy motives for acts that probably never existed save in the imagination of the writer—that this and the like is not what we came to "Mommsen's Roman Provinces" in quest of. We expected history, a narrative of actual and indisputable facts, or, if certainty on any point were wanting, we looked for a probable solution of the phenomena, with a statement of the grounds of that solution. What we have found instead we prefer not to characterize.

It is with reluctance, we may say with positive pain, that

we call attention to what is a grave blemish in a work otherwise excellent. We regret the unfriendly spirit of the book toward the Christian revelation the more because, as we have said, its antagonistic expressions are so entirely needless. In general, the marks of close research are every-where apparent. This is no production hastily gotten out to meet a popular demand. It is rather the collection and arrangement in an orderly form of the results of the labors of a long series of years. From the most distant and diverse sources, there has been gathered such an array of facts, respecting a subject many parts of which have hitherto been involved in great obscurity, as cannot be found in any previous work. The style, too, is good; rarely drawing attention to itself, but serving as the transparent medium whose sole function it is to convey the light truthfully and without distortion. Dr. Dickson has done his part with unusual skill and success. A translation from the German which should wholly conceal the fact that it was a version from a foreign tongue would indeed be a marvel. There is an element of ponderousness in the German, especially the German historical style, of which it is well-nigh impossible to eliminate the traces in English save by a laborious process that amounts to little short of an entire re-writing of the work. But if Dr. Dickson has not attempted this, he has at any rate given us a lively, accurate, and sufficiently idiomatic rendering. That it combines with these excellences the indispensable merit of faithfully reproducing the original, we have convinced ourselves by a comparison of portions of his translation of the earlier volumes with Dr. Mommsen's own work in German. While cordially thanking Dr. Dickson for the patience and the scholarly care which he has displayed in giving us in so excellent an English form this new portion of Theodor Mommsen's researches into Roman history, we cannot forego the expression of the hope that the great German scholar may be spared to complete the books—the sixth and seventh—according to his original design; that will fill the gap between his former work and the volumes now given to the world.

Art. III.—THE MYSTERY OF REDEMPTION.

Of all subjects that can engage human thought, there is none more profound than the mystery of redemption. The Scriptures teach that the redemptory work of the Christ is not the mediation of some third person making reconciliation between offended God and sinful man; but it is the intervention of Christ incarnate, who is the union of God and man, and both the one and the other.

The redemptive purpose of the triune God was formed before the foundation of the world. The love of God was the moving cause of that wonderful purpose. Reason strives in vain for an explication of the mystery; and where reason fails revelation discloses the astounding fact that "God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life." John iii, 16. In the council of redemption, the good pleasure of the Father to save man, and to exalt him through Christ to a glorious state, was concurred in by the divine Son and by the Holy Spirit. In that gracious purpose each of the glorious personages of the Godhead had, as the Scriptures teach, a distinct function to perform. In Rom. xvi, 25, St. Paul speaks of the "revelation of the mystery, which was kept secret since the world began, but now is made manifest, and by the Scriptures of the prophets, according to the commandment of the everlasting God, made known to all nations for the obedience of faith." At the point where eternity joined the birth of time, that eternal purpose already existed, and had already been decreed to be accomplished in the incarnation and atonement of the Son of God. The ruinous fall of man and his costly redemption were, therefore, pre-supposed and foreknown before man's advent on this terrestrial ball.

St. Peter, in his first epistle (chapter i, 18–21), said: "Ye were not redeemed with corruptible things, as silver and gold, . . . but with the precious blood of Christ, as of a lamb without blemish and without spot: who verily was fore-ordained before the foundation of the world, but was manifest in these last times for you, who by him do believe in God, that raised him up from the dead, and gave him glory; that your faith and hope

might be in God." Thus the wondrous plan of redemption was devised by infinite wisdom and love.

> "Grace first contrived the way
> To save rebellious man!"

But on what principle can infinite justice clear the guilty? How can God be just and yet the justifier of him that believeth in Jesus? Various views of this oft-propounded question—a question unanswerable by human reason—have been promulgated. Learned and renowned theologians have essayed to answer, and have here expended their wealth of erudition.

It has been revealed that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners, and to give his life a ransom for many; but beyond the acceptance of this great truth as a glorious fact it is doubtful if the human mind can proceed. It cannot fathom the depth of the redemptive mystery.

I. By one theory it is claimed that the perfect holiness of Christ and his obedience in taking upon himself the penalty of sin are a full satisfaction for the claims of justice as to those elected to salvation; and that to supply the want of personal righteousness in them the righteousness of Christ is substituted. According to this doctrine, there are a substituted punishment and a substituted obedience. These, as a justification of the elect, it is claimed, satisfy the requirements of the divine law and propitiate the favor of God. But this so-called theory of satisfaction seems amenable to serious objections: 1) The identical penalty due to the sinner could not have been endured by the Saviour, for he was a holy Being, a Lamb without blemish and without spot; whereas the merited punishment of the guilty consists, in part, of the consciousness of guilt and of the recognized equity of its punishment in the offender. These elements could not have entered into the redemptive sufferings of the Holy One, for he had no guilt to be atoned. 2) Again: a substituted penalty must be equivalent to that for which it is borne, and the merited penalties of sinful humanity are so incomputable, and call for such endless continuance, as to be impossible to be borne by one vicarious substitute. Christ's suffering, therefore, cannot be accounted as an equal, nor, indeed, as an equivalent, punishment for these. Nor is this objection avoided by the suggestion of a reduction

in quantity in proportion to the higher quality, as if it were the payment of gold in the place of silver. It would seem, therefore, that the claims of justice must be satisfied upon some principle other than that of equal or equivalent payment of penalty. Perfect justice, it would seem, requires before its tribunal, where no other principle intervenes, the full payment due from the offender. Nor is it just to inflict the stripes on one innocent as an equivalent substitution of punishment. There was in Christ, it is true, a vicarious atonement for the sin of the world, but not, so far as we can see, in the sense of a full satisfaction by an equivalent penalty. There was, as has been said, a substitute for the penalty, but not a substituted penalty. The latter requires an equal punishment due to the sin of the offender; the former such a vicarious substitute as that the divine law suffers no dishonor in respect of those who are pardoned after repentance through faith in Christ, and on some principle that does not violate divine law, and so that the ruling or governmental order of God is still honored. 3) If the claims of justice on the satisfaction theory have been satisfied, how can they be further enforced? On this theory those for whom Christ died will certainly be saved, whatever may be their demerit or doings. Where, then, is the necessity for them of repentance and a holy life? or how can it be maintained, that for such and such only was the Great Sacrifice for sin offered? The Gospel call to repentance and faith is made to all; and he that heareth may come, and whosoever will may take of the water of life freely. Christ died for all; and although all may not be saved, it is true that all who obey the Gospel, accepting the condition of salvation, will be saved through the merits of the atonement.

II. There is a better theory than the satisfaction theory. It is called the rectoral or governmental. We name this as prominent among various others. It claims that Christ made an atonement by substitution for the sins of men, in such a sense as to render their forgiveness possible and just, on the condition of true faith in him, after sincere repentance. This theory regards the sufferings and death of Christ not as punitive, but as sufficient within the moral administration and perfect government of a just Sovereign. Justice can still fulfill its demands in the interest of God's moral government, and

he be just while yet he is the justifier of him who believes in Jesus.

In this marvelous provision of infinite wisdom and love, holy intelligences, as the Scriptures teach, feel deep sympathy. There is joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth, for he is thus brought to the cross of Christ, and to divine forgiveness through the atoning merit of him who was "delivered for our offenses." These things the angels delight to look into. The theme, the sight, the joy are new and mysterious.

The atonement must have been something more than compensation for merited punishment; for, if that were all, how could the principle have challenged the profound study of angels? Nor were the sufferings due to sinful men transferred to Christ; but he made an offering of himself and a propitiation for men; and thereby a new covenant in the blood of Christ, shed for many for the remission of sins, in some sense deeper than we can understand, became the basis of the atonement. The great Sacrifice was not offered by men to God, but was made by God for men. It was the plan of redemption found out by infinite wisdom and love, and was accomplished through the incarnation and death of the adorable Redeemer.

> "How great the wisdom, power, and grace,
> Which in redemption shine!
> The heavenly host with joy confess
> The work is all divine."

III. The salvation of man for which the atonement provided consists of something more than a means of pardon. It is the means of a new creation as well. The soul must be regenerated and born anew before it can dwell with God. The affections and tendencies of the heart must be turned toward God and goodness. The law that thundered in the words, "The soul that sinneth, it shall die," has not been repealed. The sacrifice on Calvary aimed, therefore, a destructive blow at sin and its consequence, death. It seems divinely designed to break the heart, hard and sinful though it be, and to kindle therein the supreme love and constant choice of purity, truth, and goodness. The springs of action and motive in the soul are thereby changed, cleansed, and purified, so that thenceforth

a new principle of spiritual life takes the place of sin and disobedience.

What can accomplish so strange a work but the Divine Spirit in a heart attracted by the cross? We thus see that reconciliation to God must come through the acceptance of the gospel-disclosed condition—faith in the Crucified One—and through the resulting obedience of a holy life. In the man who has acted wrongfully, and devised evil, there must be an entire change of mind, of purpose, and of conduct. He cannot truly come to Christ for pardon, because Christ has died; but he must abandon his wrong doing, choose the right, and then, by faith, rely on the only sacrifice for sin. A new principle must thus actuate his life.

There is, then, in the work of redemption, at least a twofold feature: a plan for the pardon of guilt, and a means for the recovery of the sinner from his lost condition, so that he may escape from sin and death. The Saviour himself declared, before his departure from earth for his throne above, "Thus it is written, and thus it behooved Christ to suffer, and to rise from the dead the third day: and that repentance [change of mind and conduct] and remission of sins should be preached in his name among all nations, beginning at Jerusalem." Luke xxiv, 46, 47.

The incarnation, humiliation, suffering, and death of the Son of God were the method of man's salvation. Divine wisdom and love found this means, and this only, as necessary for the recovery of man, for the extirpation of his sin, the regeneration of his soul, his reconciliation with God, and his restoration to divine favor. "God commendeth his love toward us, in that, while we were yet sinners (enemies to him), Christ died for us." Rom. v, 8. He died that his enemies might become his friends.

Thus our fellowship is with the Father and with his Son, Jesus Christ; and the way of this wonderful reunion is through unfeigned repentance and sincere faith in the atonement of the Redeemer. Not now must man be eternally separated from his loving Father, but sin is to be slain and cast forth forever; so that the saved are they who are arrayed in fine linen, even those "who have washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb." They have been

restored to a new life through faith and the constraining force of love and gratitude.

Our Daysman with God showed to the world a gentleness, a patience, a meekness, an overflowing pity, a condescending love, such as had never been exhibited on earth. He said, "And I, if I be lifted up, will draw all men unto me." Thus it was that God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them. What a symbol of infinite love, wisdom, and compassion is the cross on which Jesus died! And what a wondrous means it is for the elevation of man from his lost estate to a glorious destiny! The highest utterance of divine love was the sacrifice of Christ. What God-like compassion for fallen man was here made known!

IV. But the redemptive work of Christ was not a mere expedient to meet an emergency occasioned by the fall. Thereby, indeed, a process is displayed by which the guilty can be pardoned, while justice is maintained; and thereby, also, a provision is set forth by faith in which, beyond the sphere of justice, sin can be destroyed, the human soul regenerated, the moral image of its Creator restored, and affinity with the pure nature of God regained. This is a recovery of what was lost by Adam's transgression. But is that the extent of the great redemption by Christ, and of heaven's wondrous love in that redemptory work? Nay: the incarnation and atonement of the Son of God lift our thought upward to another glorious conception.

Had Adam retained his integrity his race could never have been more than co-equal with him. But now—O now Christ has taken our nature into union with his own, and we are made joint heirs with him to an immortal inheritance! Our future glory and destiny soar far above the Adamic, and are lost in the incomparable light of the glory of Christ! His promise is, "To him that overcometh will I grant to sit with me in my throne. . . . Therefore are they before the throne of God, and serve him day and night in his temple. . . . For the Lamb which is in the midst of the throne shall feed them, and shall lead them unto living fountains of waters." These words speak of a higher heaven than Eden. They are symbolic representations of the blessed in Christ's eternal kingdom.

What had been the glory and the destiny of our race had Adam never sinned has no charm of conjecture now; for who can doubt that man's higher glory and destiny have been enriched by reason of the incarnation and atonement of the blessed Redeemer, through which the infinite measure of God's eternal love to the world finds wondrous expansion? What must be that glorious life immortal of soul conscious and divinely-chosen union with Christ! The human soul, a divine spark from the uncreated fire, breathed forth from the one Source of all life and light, will be unspeakably glorious in eternity through its relation to Christ! Stars of transcendent glory, unseen in this dim and cloudy night of time, will glow and glisten in the firmament of the new heaven!

From all eternity the most glorious object of time must have been the cross of Christ; and to all eternity will its radiance be reflected in the souls of those who have been redeemed and have washed their robes, and thus gained right to the tree of life, and entrance through the gates into the city. Christ will not be ashamed to call them brethren. Heb. ii, 11. And these are they who, by the Almighty Father, were fore-ordained to be conformed to the image of his Son, that he might be the firstborn among many brethren. Rom. viii, 29. We need not look back to Adam, and think of a lost hope for his pristine grandeur. We look for inconceivably more. Having Christ for our elder brother suggests a higher grandeur than Adam ever knew. The grace of the redemption by Christ Jesus confers on his followers the glory that he wears—a glory immeasurably above what Adam enjoyed in Eden! To gain that glory for us our blessed Redeemer consented to go through the scenes and sorrows of his humiliation, the grief and suffering of Gethsemane, the taunts and buffetings of the judgment-hall of Pilate, and to endure the shame and agony of the cross! But what he thus gained for us, and what are the blessed results of the redemption, the human mind cannot in these limitations of time depict or comprehend. It is a theme for eternity. Then it will fill the universe with joy.

Art. IV.—THE ALLEGED DECAY OF THE FAMILY.

That the family institution in the United States of America is passing through a process of disintegration, if not of decomposition, and that the social and political welfare of the republic is menaced with great danger by this assumed fact, is the firm belief of many patriotic citizens. What conclusions have been reached in the course of long and patient investigation of this subject by the writer will be apparent in the following article.

The literature of the family is abundant. Two recent writers, to whom we are much indebted for facts and suggestions, give a list of seventy volumes in different languages consulted by them in the prosecution of their work. The Rev. Samuel W. Dike, Corresponding Secretary of the National Divorce Reform League, also points out the vast body of published materials available to students of this problem. But, with the exception of Anderson *On the Domestic Constitution*, there has been no valuable treatise thereupon accessible to the English-speaking public. The appearance of *The Family—An Historical and Social Study*,* by Charles Franklin Thwing and Carrie E. Butler Thwing, is a timely and excellent contribution to a deeply felt need, and will doubtless be followed by others of more or less worth.

The importance of the normal family institution to Church and State can scarcely be overestimated. It is necessarily the social unit. Were men and women to persist in pure celibacy, the human race in little more than a century would be as extinct as the enormous palæozoic fauna.

The ideal family is yet to be embodied. Adam and Eve, unfallen, were perfect as a social unit; fallen, they were imperfect. But even when perfect they, as a family related to the possible commonwealth, were only inchoate. When sons and daughters were born to them the first family was fully developed. Yet this was not an embodiment of the ideal, as the religion and morals of the parents and the irreligion and wickedness of one of their children amply attest. Perhaps that of Joseph and Mary at Nazareth approximated to the

* Boston: Lee & Shepard, pp. 213.

perfect archetype as closely as any of which we have knowledge. But theirs was a Semitic ideal. The fact that there is a Semitic, an Aryan, and other ideals more or less distinctly shaped enforces the conviction that there is no universal ideal. Even Christianity has not, as yet, originated one so excellent that it may aspire to that commanding eminence. It will do so. The finished revelation of the mind and will of God concerning man, understood through the grace of the inspiring Paraclete, will undoubtedly lead to the conception of a perfect ideal, to be more gracefully defined and more thoroughly incorporated in the life of society as the Christianity of Christ enthrones itself in the faith and love of the race.

The question now is, whether the family, and particularly within the United States, considered in relation to the noblest Christian ideal, is decaying or not. Postulating that the ideal family is divinely instituted—that it is the original unit of society, monogamous through exclusive elective affinity, fruitful, religious, of equal rights in some respects and of peculiar rights in others, pure in morals, participant in all human interests, the strength of the Church and the safeguard of society—next, examining the alleged proofs of the general decay of the family, and, lastly, inquiring into and suggesting methods of embodiment as the concept ideal presents itself to the Christian mind, is the line of thought along which studious investigation naturally proceeds.

That the family is a divine institution, founded in a special act of the Almighty, is obvious from Gen. ii, 18–25. It is established by the marriage contract, which, as Fraser affirms, is "unlike other contracts; it is one instituted by God himself, and has its foundation in the law of nature. It is the parent, not the child, of civil society."* Milton and all other writers who maintain that marriage is only a simple contract, and divorce but its dissolution, ignore the divine constitution of the family through marriage.

It is also worthy of remark that the family appears to be a type of the divine government. The family and the domestic relationships interpret those names by which God makes himself known to man. Power, obedience, reciprocal love, mutual rights and duties, as existing in the divine government in its relation

* *Domestic Relations*, i, 87.

to man, are made intelligible by corresponding qualities prevailing in the human family. In its narrowest as well as in its broadest sense the family is the medium of a divine revelation. Into a family was Christ born, in a family Christ lived; from the family, also, we receive those conceptions of God as Father, Brother, Friend, which we believe most truly represent his character.*

That the family, consisting in its simplest form of husband and wife, is the original unit of society is not only the dogma of Christian theologians, but the belief of scientists like Sir Henry Maine, Herbert Spencer, Charles Darwin, and Oscar Peschel. These maintain that the monogamic, and not the promiscuous, relation of the sexes characterized their archaic state. The instincts and habits of animals, excepting a few wild ones, are in favor of this hypothesis. Polygamy and polyandry are equally unnatural. The preponderance of male births, and the greater uncertainty of masculine life, shut out presumption of universal prevalence of either of these customs. That society has ever been chaotic, or embracive of all kinds of domestic relations, is not the fault in any way of the primitive constitution of the family. Hearn, in his description of the *Aryan Household*, shows that it illustrates the remark of Aristotle, that the family is the unit of the social fabric. The husband is the spouse of one wife, and the wife is the spouse of one husband. No trace of polygamy is visible in the Homeric delineations of Greek life. Christianity sanctifies marriage as the life-long union of one man and one woman, and brands all outside sexual commerce as sinful. The progressive movement of society for the past three or four centuries has been toward the substitution of the individual for the family as the social and legal center. Modern jurisprudence cognizes only the individual, not the family, who has been guilty of crime; and yet popular feeling largely identifies the family with the individual, and metes out praise or blame accordingly. All this is consonant with the teachings of Christianity. The Bible bears an "individual message to the individual," and holds him, as possessed of free-will and conscience, to be blameworthy or meritorious. Protestantism emphasizes the right and duty of private judgment, and regards every sane person as responsible for his moral character. But while Christianity treats the indi-

* Thwing's *The Family*, pp. 99, 100.

vidual as the responsible social atom, it no less clearly deals with husband and wife—with or without children—as the molecular unit of society. Personal rights and responsibilities are necessarily modified by the expansion or constriction of the related sphere in which the individual moves.

The physical basis of marriage which constitutes the family is in sexual instinct; its spiritual foundation is the exclusive preference of husband and wife for each other. This mutual elective affinity is supreme, complete, persistent. "It is an affection of soul for soul, of mind for mind, of body for body." The essence of marriage, whatever may be its external form, has always and every-where been more or less distinctly affirmed to consist in the willing consent of both parties to it. These parties should not be consanguineous. The deplorable physical and moral condition of some families, royal and republican, and of some communities, heathen and nominally Christian, is traced by biologists to the marital relations of persons within the degrees of affinity prohibited by the Mosaic code. Neither reason nor revelation opposes any obstacle, save those inconsistent with Christian good sense, to the choice of parties. Under the Levitical institutions heiresses were obliged to marry within their own tribe to prevent the alienation of the inheritance. Men might legally marry those not of their own tribe or nation. Under the Aryan institutions the bridegroom must marry a daughter of his own people, but not a woman of his own kin. The choice of an Athenian citizen was limited to Athenian women. Such was the pride of race that the wedded union of an ordinary artisan with a foreign princess was esteemed disgraceful to the former. The children of such a connection could not possess the full birthright of citizens. No Athenian woman was allowed to marry a foreigner. Severe penalties followed the infraction of the rule forbidding the search for a spouse without the national boundaries. In the mediæval republics of northern Italy the woman was debarred from marriage beyond her own municipality. The spirit of these restrictions inheres in those State statutes of our own republic which prohibit intermarriage of people of African descent with those of Caucasian blood. The New Testament interposes no obstruction to the nuptials of couples inside or outside of the Church of Christ.

Fruitfulness is one characteristic of every ideal of the family. Among the Semites childlessness was a calamity. Husband and wife were pitiably contemptible. Children were desiderated with an intensity inconceivable by modern fashionable society. Chronic and transmissible weakness or disease alone, in ordinary circumstances, should prevent the operation of this divinely-implanted passion. The institution of the family contemplates the production of healthy children. Hereditary or incurable disease ought to be an insuperable bar to procreation. Dr. Combe is not the only one who has rightfully resisted the inclination to marry on the ground of liability to hereditary consumption. Nothing but misery can accrue from the increase of people afflicted by the taint of malignant scrofula or insanity. If the marriage of such could be prevented without violating feeling or propriety the wisest thinkers maintain that it should be done. Instruction on this point, and the consequent cultivation of natural honor, are among the uncongenial duties of public ethical teachers.

The family institution perpetuates itself through legitimate connections. In all Aryan communities the illegitimate son was excluded from the family. Christianity inculcates subserviency of the lower nature to the higher, and particularly in matrimonial contract. Every child ought to be well born. Prenatal conditions should be such as conduce to the creation of strong, healthy bodies and sound minds. These conditions can only exist where parents are united in heart and life with the sanctions of true ethics. Illicit intercourse is poison to the body, murder to the soul, sin against society, deadly wrong to its wretched fruit, and degradation below the bestial level. Only in the bonds of wedlock is the human race propitiously perpetuated. Only in the family can the young and feeble members be duly protected and properly trained. To this end the loving permanence of the married state is indispensable:

> That training of the intellectual, moral, and spiritual nature of the child, without which experience proves that he usually becomes more degraded than the brute, is most wisely and effectively given in the family. The moral qualities of love, justice, patience, temperance, fortitude, are permanent qualities of the marriage state. They are necessary elements in the training of children. . . . In the family we are usually privileged to find them most potent for the formation of the character of children.

The central point of the ideal family organization is religious. In the Semitic and Aryan conceptions it is essentially such. The ancestral worship of Hindus, Iranians, Slavonians, Greeks, and Romans was a survival of the family religion of the original Aryan household—a religion whose original and objective was the God and Father of all mankind. Christianity draws out the inherent truth of it, and eliminates all that is false and foreign. The family of ancient Greece and Rome was a religious institution. By the marriage rites husband and wife were brought into religious communion with each other and with the household gods. Thenceforward they participated in the same worship, and shared in the same rites, prayers, and festivals. In the early Roman republic the husband was the priest of the domestic altar and the chief minister of the household religion. Roman Catholicism recognizes the religious character of the family by the religious rites connected with marriage. It usually publishes the bans in the church, and performs the ceremony before the altar. It is, and always has been, conservative of the family institution. Protestantism, in its extreme reaction against the errors and superstitions of popery, erroneously defined marriage as a civil contract, and lodged it in the hands of justices of the peace. But against this the Christian consciousness of the people rebelled, and compelled legislators to authorize the performance of marriage ceremonies by ministers. Since 1692 marriage by magistrates has not been countenanced by professing Christians in New England or in any of the United States, nor, indeed, by any except people of infidel or socialistic sentiments. Orthodox Christianity admits its civil character, but insists that religious and moral elements enter into its nature, and that it is a religious observance rather than an occasion of social festivity. Practice and theory, however, are in rare accord.

In the Semitic family authority belonged to the husband and obedience to the wife. The head might speak of his wife in such contemptuous language as Shakespeare makes Petruchio use of Katharine:

> "I will be master of what is mine own:
> She is my goods, my chattels; she is my house,
> My household stuff, my field, my barn,
> My horse, my ox, my ass, my any thing."

On the same principle the Aryan family was established. The power of the Roman husband and father over his family was absolute. Life, even, was at his mercy. Among the Jews the husband was head and governor of the family. Paul declares him to be such. To the Corinthians he writes (1 Cor. xi, 3), "The head of the woman is the man;" to the Ephesians, (v, 23), "For the husband is the head of the wife, even as Christ is the head of the Church." In all his writings this sentiment prevails. But he strongly represents the relations of husband and wife as of a mystical nature, essentially akin to those subsisting between Christ and his Church. The apostolic fathers scrupulously followed his teachings. The Thwings, reflecting somewhat on Paul's theory, affirm "that the proper relation of husband and wife in the family is one of equality, equal rights, equal duties, and equal authority, and not of subjection the one to the other, is vindicated," as they believe, "1) by a true interpretation of the Scriptures, 2) by the dictates of justice, 3) by expediency."* Whatever we might say of their criticisms of St. Paul, it will be comparatively easy to accept the doctrine of equal rights, duties, and authority, provided these equalities be properly distributed in harmony with actual and necessary differences of sex and function. The question of proper distribution is one about which the wisest and best of thinkers are not entirely agreed. The fact is, that each has rights, duties, and authority that the other has not. Each should assist, not oppress or hinder, the other in their due exercise. But even then the nature of things is such as must, in the ideal family, bring the principle of necessary authority on the one hand, and of voluntary submission on the other, into more or less of prominence, and that too in perfect concord with liberty under divine law. "In order to form the truest and noblest character, husband and wife should meet on a level where each recognizes the complete individuality of the other, and the right of each to rule and the duty of each to obey," within the sphere providentially and respectively assigned by the Creator of both.

Conjugal love, especially when both parties are "in the Lord," is the universal solvent of all difficulties. It lubricates the wheels of wedlock so that they run smoothly, without friction.

* Thwing's *The Family*, p. 112.

heat, or screeching. It creates a type of family life far superior to that so beautifully delineated by Lecky in the affirmance that

> It may be fearlessly asserted that the types of female excellence which are contained in the Greek poems, while they are among the earliest, are also among the most perfect, in the literature of mankind. The conjugal tenderness of Hector and Andromache; the unwearied fidelity of Penelope, awaiting through the long revolving years the return of her storm-tossed husband, who looks forward to her as to the crown of all his labors; the heroic love of Alcestis, voluntarily dying that her husband might live; the filial piety of Antigone; the majestic grandeur of the death of Polyxena; the more subdued and saintly resignation of Iphigenia, excusing with her last breath the father who had condemned her; the joyous, modest, and loving Nausica, whose figure shines like a perfect idyl among the tragedies of the Odyssey—all these are pictures of perennial beauty which Rome and Christendom, chivalry and modern civilization, have neither eclipsed nor transcended.*

"Even as Christ also loved the Church, and gave himself for it" (Eph. v, 25), are husbands to love their wives. This highest type of conjugal love is the strongest bond of the ideal Christian family. Purity of morals is the necessary sequence of such intelligence and love; purity that has never existed in the celibate corporations of the Greek or Roman Catholic Churches; purity that was rarely, if ever, found in Hellenic or Latin families in the best eras of their history. Fidelity was demanded of the Athenian wife, unfaithfulness permitted to the Athenian husband. Plato, the father of Oneida Communism, in Book V of his *Republic*, argued in favor of sexual communism, severely restricted, as tending to make the new generation "better and more useful than their good and useful parents." Although one of the greatest philosophers of all the ages, he was incapable of rising to that altitude of Christian thought which regards the family as an institution in which each of the two partners gives self to the other, and through this abnegating surrender attains the noblest type of character. Plato's theory sanctions murder, and is opposed to the first principles of morality. The Christian ideal is one of love, altruism, and beneficence. It impresses the divine likeness upon individuals, while it provides for the judicious education of childhood, and

* *History of European Civilization*, ii, p. 279.

the care of the feeble, sick, insane, aged, and helpless poor. It creates the noblest personality. "Its method is simply the Christian method of saving life by losing it." In the mutual surrender of self, "each receives back the other, who has been thus enriched by the sacrifice. They are, indeed, 'no more twain.' The personality of each is ennobled and enlarged by the personality of the other." Thus the family purifies and exalts the character of the race. In the Christian family, unlike that of the Hellene, the wife shares the intellectual and religious life of the husband, is the lovely and beneficent genius of household affairs, the co-director of her children's physical education, the joint owner of common resources, and the equal sharer of her husband's honors. *Ubi tu Caius, ego Caia*, is a Roman formula that she may properly use in a sense unknown to the Latin matron. Whatever of moral obligation rests upon her settles with equal weight upon him. In labors and sufferings, enjoyments and dignities, honors and rewards, there is entire community. "This is a great mystery," like the union "between Christ and the Church." Eph. v, 32. It is a *sacramentum*—a means of grace. The demands of such a family upon the husband (house-bond) are more urgent than those of business; the dignity and influence therein of the wife and mother are higher than any elsewhere attainable; the children are bound thereto by ties stronger than those of all other associations. Mutual love, confidence, and beneficence make it the best earthly type of celestial happiness.

As the ideal family is the creation of Christian thought, culture, and morals, it can only be preserved by the same factors. Just as Greek culture, frivolity, and vices, imported into Rome, disintegrated the pure, strong life of the Roman family, so the introduction of agnostic and infidel thought, of phosphorescent because putrid literature, of frivolous manners and sensual immoralities into American society only corrupts republican simplicity, and does what it may to overthrow republican institutions and liberties. The Christian family is the basis, the strength, the glory of modern civilization.

The bond of that marriage which constitutes the ideal family is indissoluble. Sterility cannot unloose it, as in the Semitic and Aryan divisions of the race; neither can any of the specious causes admitted by the Jews, nor the insanity of either party, nor

any thing short of death or gross crime, dissolve it. The wedded pair can only be separated by the death or adultery (its moral equivalent) of one of the twain. Such is the doctrine of our Lord's sermon on the mount. Malicious desertion (1 Cor. vii, 15), or attempt upon the life of the consort, or confirmed and dangerous drunkenness, is by many regarded as the equivalent of adultery, and justifies the consent of the injured party to the complete rupture of the marriage bond. Such is the doctrine of Luther, Calvin, and most of the Reformers. Roman Catholicism seems to hold the same dogma, but lets in a flood of fetid and destructive evils by its doctrine of marital nullification for any one of many reasons altogether different from these.

The Christian family, rigidly guarded by legislation instinct with the spirit of the Lord Jesus Christ, is indispensable to the growth and prosperity of the Church.

Nonna, winning her husband Gregory over to the true faith, and training her son, Gregory of Nazianzus, as Hannah trained Samuel—Anthusa of Antioch, left a widow at the age of twenty, and devoting her life to the culture of a son, whose name, John Chrysostom, allows the conclusion that he was well worthy of such devotion—and Monica, who sowed the seeds of divine truth in the heart of hers on Augustine—each illustrates the influence of the Christian home of the first centuries.*

The world cannot too highly estimate its indebtedness to Susannah Wesley for the training of her sons John and Charles, the quickening, organizing instruments, in the Divine Hand, of the most forceful and persistent revival of religion since the day of Pentecost.

The Christian family, in the truest embodiments of its ideal, is not only the strength of the Church but also the surest safeguard of the State. The Roman Empire fell, not because of successive inundations of northern barbarians, but because it had lost all vital cohesiveness and strength through the extinction of the old Aryan family. Germans and tribes of other names established themselves upon its ruins, because they retained the Aryan family in all its simplicity and power. We cannot agree with the Thwings that "the family, which should be the source and fountain of the purest and most lasting influences, has quite ceased to exist as a social unit;" that

* Thwing's *The Family*, p. 78.

"society has thus lost one of its most important elements of noble permanence;" that "one of the supports of the social order has fallen." No, no.

The individual, however "radical and progressive," in whom political power is vested, is now, as in the grandest specimens of the Aryan community, the actual or potential head of a family; and never have family considerations been more powerful in the commonwealth than at present. The United States of America have "special need of conservative influences;" and the present growing agitation for the preservation and perfection of the ideal Christian family, "for the formation of the best order of human society," is the prophecy that such conservative influences will not be wanting in the portentous future.

> Happily, the dignity and purity of the marriage relation have enlisted upon their side the noblest instincts and emotions of which human nature is capable. These, with the help that law and public opinion can give, are sure, ultimately, to do far more than restore marriage to its pristine sanctity. They will raise it to a higher place than it has yet ever held in the temple of human society.*

Ever since the fall of our first parents evil and good have been in perpetual antagonism among their descendants. Divine ideals of individuality, of the family institution, of social relations, of human brotherhood, have been inveterately opposed by the moral evil within and the moral evil without. This active and bitter enmity cannot be ignored, nor the best and wisest methods of overcoming it neglected. Not unfrequently the strongest and most zealous reformers fall into despondency like that of Elijah on Horeb. The wickedness of the wicked, the errors of the foolish and misguided, and the indifference of the lukewarm, temporarily deprive them of hope and energy. It requires the inspiration of the Holy Spirit and the touch of the Divine Hand, to restore and augment their faith and courage. They need to look on both sides of the conflict; without and not within, up and not down.

Alleged proofs of the decay of the family are discovered in the prevalent contemptuous disregard for "blood," the higher education of girls, the opening of larger spheres of work to

* Thwing's *The Family*, p. 167.

women, the division of the family by diverse social, educational, and ecclesiastical preferences, the individualized position of each member, the asserted popular movement toward socialism, the contempt for civil law, and the willingness to adopt riotous measures to gain desiderated ends. Whatever of truth or of unreality may be in these alleged proofs, it is certain that socialism is a popular reaction against exaggerated selfish individualism, and that what is true in its theories is in harmony with the divine constitution and conservation of the family.

The drift of population toward the cities is held to imply the decay of the family. In 1790, of every 100 persons in the United States, 3.3 lived in cities; in 1810, 4.9; in 1820, 4.9; in 1830, 6.7; in 1840, 8.5; in 1850, 12.5; in 1860, 16.1; in 1870, 20.9; in 1880, 22.5.* The increase of labor-saving machinery and the means of production adds to the volume and speed of this drift. "The struggle for wealth, the appetite for excitement, the opportunity for the satisfaction and development of personal taste" of urban communities, it is said, develop individualism and minify the family. The calm conservatism and simplicity of the country, it is also asserted, tend to develop and magnify the family. All such generalities are principally expressions of opinion; and opinions differ as do the experiences and observations of those who express them. There are not wanting judicious authorities of long and wide experience who stoutly maintain that American family life in cities is nearly, if not quite, as pure and as close an approximation to the ideal as that of the rural districts. Not even in Great Britain are there families embodying and exemplifying more of those eternal principles of religion and morality which build up pure, beautiful, beneficent, and happy homes than in the great cities of the United States. Still, it must be conceded that there are many families both in city and country of which the decay is obvious; families originally constituted by couples whose ignorance of the religious and moral character of marriage made its celebration a purely social festivity; families to which divine worship is as foreign as to the association of paired unmoral animals; and to which all the purifying, conservative effects of the knowledge of, and communion with, God through Christ are utterly lost; families

* *Compendium of the Tenth Census*, p. 8.

impaired, broken, polluted, diabolized by drunkenness, lechery, hate, violence, lies, and all manner of iniquity.

The family in this and in other Christian countries is in a state of transition. The Church, the law and society generally uphold the proposition that a wife ought to be in subjection to her husband in all things consistent with natural fitness and the revealed will of God, but they each and all substantially agree in sustaining the wife in her refusal to obey behests contrary to these. The frequent result of contradiction would be the rejection of all obligation and the destruction of the family union.

Boarding-houses and hotels are too often permitted to take the place of homes for multitudes of married couples in city, town, and country. In these wives are idle while husbands are toiling for daily bread. The circumstances of life suggest and foster distaste for parental joys, duties, and responsibilities. Children, than whom nothing but dominating mutual love is a stronger bond of union, are absent from the rooms. Indiscretions are committed, solicitations to sensual indulgence are rife, jealousies and bickerings creep in, reciprocal dislike is engendered, and a long series of avoidable mistakes is capped by the catastrophe of the divorce court.

The absorbing passion for social advancement, springing in some measure from our excellent systems of common-school education, undoubtedly corrupts "much that is most precious in the domestic relations." It deters vigorous and passionate youth from the contraction of matrimony. It prompts to unloving, unsuitable marriages for position in society, command of wealth, means of pleasure, conservation of property, and other ends of worse moral quality. It excites to expenditure unwarranted by income, to display in dress, furniture, and sumptuary provision out of all proportion to resources; to the contraction of debts which the bread-winner cannot defray; to hypocrisy, dishonesty, and defalcation; in some sad instances to the mercenary sale of the holiest sanctities of humanity, and in many to the hopeless shattering of the family organism. Whether in these particulars the "former times were better than these" we do not pause to inquire. Humanity has always been and always will be the same, except as it is modified by the Gospel and grace of God. Matters now call for exhaustive thought upon effective processes of amendment.

The failure of legislation to scientifically correlate woman's responsibilities with woman's rights is another fruitful source of injury to the family. The woman who, as wife, retains exclusive control of her own property, can yet compel her husband to pay her debts. The number of families utterly ruined by the exercise of this power is not a few.

The intellectual culture and business opportunities of women are held by some theorists to be harmful to the family. In the middle classes of the older States the book-knowledge and intellectual superiority of the average wife over her husband is said to be "plain even to a casual observer," and that it is among these classes that "the rate of divorce is by far the highest." These also are largely matters of individual opinion about which observers decidedly disagree. Students must fall back upon personal observation and the testimony of competent contemporaries. Second-hand knowledge is not judicially subordinated to primary, nor mere literary criticism to sound judgment of secular or spiritual affairs. Mrs. Somerville, one of the most gifted of mathematicians and acquisitive of scientists, was a model housekeeper, wife, and mother; and multitudes of the best educated American women are also among the most excellent of domestic managers, wives, and parents. In all these respects they will compare with less cultured classes to their own praise and to the disadvantage of the latter. As to divorce, the poor and ignorant commonly dispense with all action of the courts. As to the business opportunities of woman, if "the industries in which she now engages are numbered by the hundreds" they are oftener utilized for the preservation than for the destruction of home and family.

Loose notions of sexual morality, and the absence of clear ideas of the family obligations, unquestionably foster the shamefully criminal practice of pre-natal infanticide. This is a branch of the question which the pure-minded discuss with shuddering horror. Like most cancerous growths it calls for the knife. It menaces the life of the nation. It has reduced the descendants of the Puritans in some localities to an insignificant minority. Such is the statement of patriotic physicians. The committee of a western State Board of Health avows the conviction "that in the United States the number of women who die from its *immediate* effects is not less than

six thousand per annum." Gynecologists affirm that it is not maternity which sends to them the largest number of patients, but the needless refusal of its responsibilities. Unchastity in many forms keeps step with immoral ideas and legislation. In communities where known licentiousness does not exclude men from respectable, not to say Christian, circles, and where some profess to look upon adultery, and especially of married women, as a venial offense, criminal abortion and the social evil assume their most flagitious and revolting forms. These sins are not the less deadly when disguised or concealed. The pen refuses to record, and good taste prohibits, the publication of conversations and occurrences connected with the murder of the innocents. The disgust and horror expressed even by some professed disciples of the Lord in relation to these leprous sores of nineteenth century civilization are not to the fetid cancers but to their exposure. In Ohio careful medical investigation has led to the conclusion that pre-natal infanticide annually robs the family of one third its legitimate increment. In the Northern States it is said to be more prevalent than in Buddhist China. The murder of adults or of children may be comparatively infrequent, but the All-seeing alone knows to what extent the destruction of unborn life has gone and is going. A partial loss of capacity for maternity has, it is said, already befallen American women; and the voluntary refusal of its responsibilities is the lament of the physician and the moralist.*

Shakerism, Owenism, Fourierism, Noyesism, and all other socialisms, as a whole, are too full of idiosyncrasies, visions, absurdities, injustices, and loathsome vilenesses to threaten permanent danger to the family institution. All are foredoomed to utter failure through their connate unnatural vices. The same remark is true of the monster abomination, Mormonism. All are too evidently inimical to the unity and purity of the family, and to the stability of the social structure, to permit of long continuance. Reaction from them will be toward the embodiment of the simplest and grandest conception of family life. More to be dreaded than they all is the ethical rottenness and spiritual depravation which, among some communities, miscegenates the races without the sanctions of mar-

* *Some Aspects of the Divorce Question*, Dike, p. 180.

riage, and riots in concubinage and promiscuous lust. Worse still, if possible, is the leniency with which public, not Christian, sentiment regards the evil doers. Zola's nastiness, Goethe's "affinities," and "liberal" licentiousness have filled some American cities with women who, like those at Rome described by Seneca, "count their years, not by the number of the consuls, but by the number of their husbands;" with men and women who vie with each other in wanton indulgences, and put on the garb of occasional decency to impart a new and piquant zest to disgraceful iniquity.

The legislative enactments of the several States which gratuitously assuming that marriage is only a civil contract, and that husband and wife are equal partners but not "one flesh"—not the nearest of all possible relatives to each other—work grievously to the decay of the family.

> According to the spirit and most of the legislation of the present age they are no relations at all. They are simply partners. If one member of a business firm die, his property does not go to his partner, but to his own family; so if a wife die without children, her property does not go to her husband, but to her third and fourth cousins. They, in the eye of the law, are more nearly related to her than her husband. This is not the light in which God looks upon marriage.*

In the United States of America the common law theory of husband and wife has been repudiated to a much greater extent than in England, although the mother has followed fast and far in the footsteps of her daughter. Legislation tends in the direction of absolute equality between the sexes. Schouler, in his *Law of Domestic Relations*, says:

> What are familiarly known as the "Married Women's Acts"—the product of American legislation during the last quarter of a century—aim to secure to the wife the independent control of her own property, and the right to contract, sue, and be sued without her husband, under reasonable conditions.

Legislation on this subject is now exceedingly complicated and difficult, for each State has taken its own way of modifying the original common law. Dr. Hodge objects to all such legislation on the ground that "it follows from the scriptural doctrine of marriage that all laws are evil which tend to make

* *Hodge's Systematic Theology*, vol. iii, p 419

those two whom God pronounces to be one. This is attempting to correct one class of evils at the cost of incurring others a hundred-fold greater. The word of God is the only sure guide of legislative action as well as of individual conduct."

The latter statement is one that all Christians will accept, and that without indorsing the old common law doctrine that while husband and wife are one the husband is that one. The word of God distinctly avows and protects the rights, duties, and responsibilities of the wife as one of two distinct individualities in the indissoluble unity of the marriage relation. Human law should do the same, and should do it with correct understanding of the family constitution. Keener insight and truer generalization of all known facts are needful to wise legislation, to the conservation of all that is valuable in, and the elimination of all that is worthless from, our statute books. Many studious and careful observers doubt the propriety of legislation that differentiates the interests of the husband from those of the wife, or *vice versa*. The late John Stanton Gould, who began his researches into this matter with a strong bias in favor of Married Women's Acts, reluctantly came to the conclusion that every departure from the old law of coverture had been attended by social evils commensurate with the degree of such departure.

The award of damages to an injured husband for the loss of his wife's services—said award to be paid by the adulterous seducer who inflicted the damages—whatever else it may be, is not an outgrowth of divine teaching. It works to the decay of the family. Adultery is the worst of all social crimes. Society is perishing in its own corruptions when it regards it as a mere peccadillo. Mosaic statutes punished this crime with death. Even now human instincts are stronger than erroneous legislation. It is practically impossible to convict an innocent husband of murder when he has killed the miscreant who stamped his honor into the mire. Pecuniary compensation is out of the question. His wife is not his slave; she is his second, dearer self. Millions of pelf could not atone for the wrong. Yet civil law commonly denies any redress except that of dollars, and imposes no penalty save of amercement upon the wretch who has slain the self-respect and happiness of others' lives. Lynch law is rarely justifiable. In this regard it should be wholly unnecessary in view of penalties adequate and judicious.

The several causes heretofore pointed out as operative to the decay of the family speciously voice themselves in that general principle of divorce legislation which insists that a marriage not fulfilling its ends should be dissolved by the duly constituted authorities. Among the abortive marriages thus to be dissolved are those in which either of the parties denies the mutual ownership of the person; in which equitable or desirable property arrangements are not made; in which household practices are niggardly; in which discontented and unreasonable wives refuse to assume due share of mutual duties and burdens. In other words, the divine institution of the family is to be abolished because the parties to it inexcusably decline to fulfill their plighted vows; the contract is to be dissolved because one (or both) of the parties refuses to keep its terms. This is as contrary to the Constitution of the United States as it is to the law of God.

Practice is as bad as legislation, if not worse. The divorce leprosy annually destroys a large percentage of families in many of the States. Divorce laws look upon marriage as a relation purely secular. They are for the most part deadly enemies to the family. They foment causes of disunion and discord. Immorality, illegitimacy, and frequency of divorce are the consequences of their immoral laxity. Strictness of law is everywhere conducive to purity of morals. The most thoughtful patriots view the divorce disease with grave apprehension for the future of our country. Statesmanship has begun to call a halt in the downward march of legislation and judicial decision. It is high time. The family institution is in grave peril from the facility and frequency with which marriage bonds are dissolved. In 1878 Connecticut granted one divorce to every 10.4 marriages; Vermont, 1 to 14; Massachusetts, 1 to 21.4; New Hampshire, 1 to 10.9; Rhode Island, in 1882, 1 to 11; Maine, in 1880, 1 to 10; Ohio, in 1882, 1 to 16.8. San Francisco did yet worse, and in 1881 granted a divorce to each 5.78 marriages. Marin County, California, bears the banner in front of the pestilent divorce march. In 1882 it reported "57 licenses and 27 divorces, or one divorce for every two and eleven hundredths marriages." Legal divorces appear to have doubled in proportion to marriages or population within the last thirty years. Spontaneous divorces are more frequent in the South, wherein

slavery practically obliterated the family among the colored people, and also extensively among the whites.

Permission to marry again, after having been divorced for the "cause of adultery," is an offense against the family. Too many men and women, who tire of their spouses, either secretly or by connivance obtain divorce on this alleged ground. All that many do is to commit the crime, confess it, and then welcome the dissolution of the marriage tie. Other associations are subsequently formed, and in not a few instances are dissolved in like manner. The later connections are flagrant legalized adulteries. The civil law has declared persons not to be husband and wife who, by the divine law, are husband and wife. It pronounces those husband and wife who are really guilty paramours, and who, judged by that law, are living in unquestionable sin. In all such permissions and acknowledgments the civil law is utterly at fault. The State has no more right to set aside or nullify the law of marriage underlying the family relation than it has to repeal the decalogue. Its true function is confined to the legal recognition of changes wrought out by moral causes, that decompose and destroy the family.

Laxity in respect of divorce is largely an extreme reaction against the unscriptural doctrines of the Church of Rome relating to marriage. Not only does it frown upon this divine institution, and debar its clergy and nuns from wedlock, but it falsely teaches that nothing besides death can absolve the married pair from their obligations. In denying to some what God allows to all, "it opened a fountain of vice with the smallest incitement to virtue." * That its teachings are contradictory, and that it is false to its own claims as the champion of the family, is obvious to all students of its history. The right of making and unmaking impediments to marriage, at pleasure, it takes into its own hands; † and that with no better motive than the promotion of its own power.

Protestantism has gone to the opposite extreme. In defining marriage as essentially a civil contract, it has erred from the truth, and been deluded into the substitution of imperial Roman law for that of the Christian code. England is the least culpable transgressor in this particular. Her civil tribunals grant judicial

* Woolsey, *Essay on Divorce*, p. 127.

† Den's *Moral Theology*, p. 498. Lippincott & Co. 1856.

separations, *a mensa et thoro*, for adultery, cruelty, and desertion without just cause for two years; and divorce *a vinculo matrimonii* for simple adultery by the wife, or aggravated adultery by the husband. She errs in giving permission to either to marry again, in making any distinction between husband and wife, in departing from the spirit of the "written word." France, Germany, and other continental nations are more grievously in fault. The immense emigration from these countries to the United States is not without deleterious effect on popular morality and state-legislation. South Carolina still adheres to the canon law, and that with felicitous domestic results. Nearly all the States and Territories have different laws on marriage and the family. Besides adultery and desertion, many other offenses are held to justify divorce. Among these are imprisonment, insanity, neglect of due maintenance of the wife, habitual intoxication, cruelty, or such misconduct as permanently destroys the happiness of the petitioner and defeats the purpose of the conjugal relation. Some States leave the whole matter to the discretion of the courts, and go so far as to authorize the judge to dissolve the matrimonial bond whenever "he deems it reasonable and proper, and consistent with the peace and morality of society." American civilization loses sight of the fact that the family, not the individual, is the germ-cell of the social organism. Protestantism chiefly addresses men as individuals, but unwisely overlooks the family. It would hardly speak of Abraham in language so commendatory as that of Jehovah, who said: "I know him, that he will command his children and his household after him." Gen. xviii,19. This individualizing drift has brought damage to the New Englanders and their descendants. It needs the restraint of scriptural and scientific teaching. Individual and family must be correlated to the benefit of both. Divorce rates are highest among the children of the Puritans. "The very counties where Giddings, Wade, and Garfield lived, themselves men of great purity of character, have been about the worst for divorces in the State" of Ohio.

Roused public opinion is doing something to stay the desolating tide of resultant evils; but lust, disgust, profligacy, and many forms of human corruption do their best, or worst, to swell its volume. The facility of divorce is often the induce-

ment to indiscreet and hasty marriage. The courts are too lenient, careless, culpable.

Procedure is often bad. Personal service of the libel is frequently entirely evaded; and when printed notice of it is given it is sometimes done in ways that defeat the design of the law. Instances continually come to light in which the proceedings are based on fraud, and occasionally all the papers have turned out to be forgeries, even to the signatures of the officers of the courts. Collusion between the parties themselves, or the so-called opposing counsel, is notoriously frequent. The celerity with which causes are often heard, and the frivolous evidence on which their decision is made to turn, add to the evil and to its increase. Competent authority asserts that fifteen minutes is the average time spent on a divorce suit in the courts of one State. There are many honorable exceptions to this haste, but probably no causes of any importance have so slight work done on them as divorce suits. A dozen families will be declared non-existent in half as many hours by a court that has spent a day or two on an issue involving five dollars and no principle of law worth ten minutes' thought.*

The immediate consequences are abominable. "Probably in every county in Connecticut some person could be found who has figured in three or four divorce suits. Even the seducer has found the courts a pliant, though unwilling, tool of his trade." United States senators, governors, foreign ministers, public officials, professional men, merchants, mechanics, farmers and laboring men have been more or less vitiated by this awful virus. The Rev. S. W. Dike states that

in some New England manufacturing towns, the migratory working men, chiefly those of foreign birth, are found to desert their wives and children in one place to form a new alliance in another —a custom which exists to some extent among the lowest classes in the cities and in back-country districts.

"Swapping wives" is not uncommon. "The poor man's divorce" is repudiation at will. In city and country the number of men who are "maintaining two families," and of men and women who live in adulterous or illicit relations, cannot be accurately ascertained; but enough is known of the gross facts to occasion the deepest alarm. This wholesale cheapening of marriage and morality fosters the increase of sexual vices and the number of divorces. The official reports of Massachusetts

* S. W. Dike, *Some Aspects of the Divorce Question*, p. 171.

and other States show that illegitimate births are rapidly increasing, although as yet far behind the profligate rates of European countries.

The decay of the family is not now, never has been, nor ever will be, witnessed in the higher exemplifications of Christian life. Never have there been purer, sweeter, holier, happier Christian families than at present. But this is because the complemental, blending individualities at the center and foundation of each have been true to the healthful, sinless impulses of physical nature; true to the mind and will of the All-Father as revealed in his "word written;" and true to the calmly and honestly understood facts of natural science. All deviations from the family ideal are due to depravity, ignorance, and wickedness. There is enough, and more than enough, of these baleful factors in American society to make the public spirited, pious, and patriotic tremble for the future. Fearless, temperate, thorough discussion of the whole subject is needed. Here we can barely touch its surface. The whole science of political economy is more or less involved in it. So are the rights, duties, privileges, responsibilities, and eternities of men, women, and children.

Suggested methods of incarnating the highest Christian conception of the family are the lines along which scientific thought naturally runs in seeking a remedy for rampant evils, and in striving to reach the highest ultimate possibilities of organized society.

The doctrines of our Lord and his apostles, inculcating chastity and the sacredness of marriage, concordant as they are with deductions cautiously drawn from sociological facts, should be thoroughly studied and rigorously applied in ethical, legislative, and administrative form. Christ re-established the original order of the relation of the sexes as the order under the dispensation of grace. "And they twain shall be one flesh: so then they are no more twain, but one flesh." Mark x, 8. In all his associations with women he exhibited the most respectful sympathy, the most delicate consideration, and the highest appreciation of intellectual and moral character. His most philosophical address, excepting that to Nicodemus, was made to the woman of Samaria, and was understood by her better than the "master in Israel" apprehended the one made

to him. All law touching the family institution should be instinct with the spirit of Christ, and worthy of his example. Equality of rights—supremely enjoyed by the husband in the sphere of activities allotted to him, by the wife in that falling to her, and conjointly in matters common to both—will then be assured. Equity demands it. The contribution of the average wife to the family is fully commensurate with that of the average husband. Expediency demands it. Such equality would repress the tendencies in each that need repression, and would nourish those that need nutrition. Imperiousness and coarseness would be replaced by gentlemanly refinement; timidity and distrust by self-respecting confidence and courage. The most symmetrical and accomplished of women would then accept housekeeping and motherhood as not only the natural but the most desirable occupation of the sex. Husband and wife should be equal, blending partners in a firm which is the cell-unit of the body politic, the negative and positive poles of the same indivisible molecule.

Woman's responsibilities should be carefully correlated with woman's rights. Now "they have a right to their earnings and property, but have no duties to discharge in providing for themselves or their children." * Enlargement of woman's rights, unaccompanied by corresponding enlargement of woman's responsibilities, has increased the number of divorces, and to that extent has added force to the disintegrating elements at work in the republic. Chivalric legislation is wise above what is written. It is foolish. It ignores the nature and fitness of things. It concedes rights without imposing correlative duties, and bestows privileges without exacting their proper uses. Housewives, not technical "ladies;" bees, not butterflies; matrons who appreciate duty and responsibility as highly as right and privilege, are what Christian society desiderates in families.

Equal rights in children and to their earnings is a dictate of nature, and should be a maxim of law. Is there aught but injustice and cruelty in the statutes which refuse this equality to the wife? Equal rights in directing the policy of the family is none the less the demand of righteous wisdom. That he is the only one whose habits, and tastes, and even eccentricities

* Thwing's *The Family*, p. 120.

should be consulted may be the law of the land, but it is not the law of love, nor of the golden rule. The intelligent and wise exercise of parental authority—equally of the mother in her sphere as of the father in his—is another very special need of the family. Children trained in habits of purity, respect for the rights of others, and filial obedience, develop into the best spouses, parents, and citizens. Questions of personal right in wedlock, too delicate for handling in the pages of a religious review, force themselves into notice. Suffice it to say, that Christian marital intercourse is sensible, chaste, continent, religious; and that out of it spring other beings, well-born and originated under psychical and moral conditions most propitious to success in all temporal and eternal relations. Parents owe more to children than children to parents. They are responsible for the being of their children, and ought to enforce prompt and implicit obedience to regulations necessary for the formation of noble, rounded, perfect character; and should do it in a manner that commands absolute confidence and love. In order to the due fulfillment of parental duty, and as a matter of simple right, justice requires that husband and wife should be equals in the ownership of the family estate. The marriage settlements common in England, and other devices for promoting the unity and perpetuity of the family, should not in America stop short of this measure of equity.

How to adjust the individual rights of husband and wife to the highest Christian conception of the family is the serious and critical problem now pressing for solution. It must be accomplished by clear, clean good sense, rather than by chivalrous sentiment. The religious and moral elements of marriage must be brought conspicuously into view. Due notice and publicity should be given to its celebration. Opportunity should be given for examining objections to the union. "Marriages contracted in haste are most prolific in separations." National uniformity of law concerning marriage and divorce seems to be one of the necessities of the times. The State laws governing divorce are now as various as the sizes and names of the respective commonwealths.* The amendment, by incorpo-

* Judge Noah Davis, in the *North American Review*, vol. cxxxix, No. 1, pp. 39, 40, presents the following impressive illustration of the evils of differing State laws on marriage and divorce: "A. is married in New York, where he has resided

rating three words, of the Constitution of the United States, would bring order out of this "confusion worse confounded." "Congress shall have power to establish a uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies, *marriage and divorce*, throughout the United States," is a provision that, if in the organic law as thus written, would aid in the production of uniformity, check excesses in divorce, and conserve the family institution. To effect such an amendment, and to establish the family and the nation on the sure foundation of reason and righteousness, is the appropriate and special work of the Church of Christ.

for years, and has a family, and is the owner of real and other estate. He desires divorce and goes to Indiana, where that thing is cheap and easy. Upon complying with some local rule, and with no actual notice to his wife, he gets a decree of divorce, and presently is married in that State to another wife, who brings him other children. He again acquires new estates; but, tiring of his second wife, he deserts her and goes to California, where in a brief space he is again divorced, and then marries again, forming a new family and acquiring new real and personal estates. In a few years his fickle taste changes again, and he returns to New York, where he finds his first wife has obtained a valid divorce for his adulterous marriage in Indiana, which sets her free and forbids his marrying again during her life-time. He then slips into an Eastern State, takes a residence, acquires real property there, and after a period gets judicially freed from his California bonds. He returns to New York, takes some new affinity, crosses the New Jersey line, and in an hour is back in New York, enjoying so much of his estate as the courts have not adjudged to his first wife, and gives new children to the world. . . . He dies intestate. Now, what is the legal status and condition of the various citizens he has given to our common country? and what can the States of their birth or domicile do for them? A few words will show how difficult and important these questions are. The first wife's children are doubtless legitimate and heirs to his estate every-where. The Indiana wife's children are legitimate there, but probably illegitimate every-where else. The California children are legitimate there and in New York (that marriage having taken place after his first wife had obtained her divorce), but illegitimate in Indiana and elsewhere; while the second crop of New Yorkers are legitimate in the Eastern States and New York, and illegitimate in Indiana and California. There is real and personal property in each of these States. There are four widows, each entitled to dower and distribution somewhere, and to some extent, and a large number of surely innocent children, whose legitimacy and property are at stake. All these legal embarrassments spring from want of uniformity of laws on a subject which should admit of no more diversity than the question of citizenship itself."

Art. V.—HELEN HUNT JACKSON.

There is in Colorado a grave aloof from other graves and "far from the madding crowd" of the living. Where our eastern mountain front breaks rapidly down from Pike's Peak upon Cheyenne, to re-appear far south in the Greenhorn and the Spanish Peaks—there, 10,000 feet above the sea and 4,000 above the plain, is our first tomb of genius. One said to Emerson, "Is not Helen Hunt our greatest female poet?" His reply was: "Is it not better to omit the word 'female?'" The winner of such words from the great critic, himself an oracular poet, has a right of presentation at any literary gathering in the State of her affection, her choice for home and burial.

And what is it to be a poet? What is poetry? Such questions are fitting, and some answer would be a fair preliminary to a direct and personal inquiry after Mrs. Jackson's merits. If one of us be squarely asked, "What is poetry?" he instantly feels that in his own personal self the question is too wide for him. It is really beyond his own conceits and far beyond his actual experiences. His mind seems wrapped in a mist, luminous, indeed, yet a mist not transparent. He can talk of it, but to say just what it is, he finds not. For answer we must look to the broad convictions of the human race. One finds that critics agree (and as singers in chorus we must sing with the director's wand or keep silent) in saying that poetry is a representation of life. "Life" means whatever men perceive, feel, think, or do. This representation must be in language, not in color, form, or sound. When one called the Milan cathedral "a poem in stone," he took the same freedom in speech as he who called another cathedral "frozen music"—that is, stating a felt incoherency, such stuff as dreams are made of. This language, too, must be in verse or rhythm. Prose is *prorsus*, straight on, like Anthony's talk. We may call some prose "poetical," in the sense of *lively;* or we may call some poetry "prosy," in the sense of *dull;* but prose-poetry is something hybrid and monstrous, away from good taste and good sense.

But there may be a representation of life in verse or rhythm

that is yet not poetry. All looks fair, but life is wanting. Take this from Wordsworth's "Simon Lee":

> And he is lean, and he is sick;
> His body, dwindled and awry,
> Rests upon ankles swoln and thick,
> His legs are thin and dry.
> One prop he has, and only one:
> His wife, an aged woman,
> Lives with him, near the waterfall,
> Upon the village common.

Here is life represented in verse, but where is the poetry? Take now from the same Wordsworth this, "Poor Susan's Reverie," and we have poetry without the asking. We feel it whether we will or no:

> At the corner of Wood Street, when daylight appears,
> Hangs a thrush that sings loud—it has sung for three years;
> Poor Susan has passed by the spot, and has heard
> In the silence of morning the song of the bird.
>
> 'Tis a note of enchantment; what ails her? She sees
> A mountain ascending, a vision of trees;
> Bright volumes of vapor through Lothbury glide,
> And a river flows on through the vale of Cheapside.
>
> Green pastures she views in the midst of the dale
> Down which she so often has tripped with her pail;
> And a single small cottage, a nest like a dove's,
> The one only dwelling on earth that she loves.
>
> She looks, and her heart is in heaven: but they fade,
> The mist and the river, the hill and the shade;
> The stream will not flow, and the hill will not rise,
> And the colors have all passed away from her eyes.

Between these two pieces, called by the same word, "poem," what is the difference? Is it not something analogous to that which occurred to our Saviour's body when he brought three disciples into a high mountain apart and was transfigured before them? "His countenance did shine as the sun, and his raiment was white as the light." True in every fold and outline, only lifted and illumined, and the disciples, too, are lifted and illumined as they gaze. Look now at these just quoted poems. In "Simon Lee" all is flat, nothing lifted, nothing illumined. In "Poor Susan" all is true—the thrush, the London streets, the meadows, and the cottage; true, but in

wondrous change of aspect. Her eyes for the nonce are with her heart, and that transforms the vulgar streets; and we, with her, see all in a light that never was on sea or shore. What faculty is this that has bodied forth in Wood Street the form of things unseen? that has lifted the common and familiar into the sublime and affecting, and makes our own faces glow as we look, and our hearts say, "It is good for us to be here?" This the imagination does. It is the transfiguring faculty, and this it is that sets "the poet's eye in a fine frenzy rolling," and brings the dullest of us into something of his inspiration and his dream.

Poetry, then, is a transfiguration of what men perceive, feel, think, or do. The rank of a poet in his calling must clearly depend on the amount of life that he has transfigured. For this reason the dramatic poet has the highest place. He transfigures the actions of men, and actions are the outcome of perceptions, emotions, and reflections, so that the poetry of action includes that of the others. The poetry of perception is descriptive, that of feeling is lyrical, that of thinking is reflective, that of doing is dramatic, and the dramatist is the highest style of poet. The poet will have a hearing, for to life transfigured we cannot choose but listen. Meanwhile his work is his chief joy.

> To have the great poetic heart
> Is more than all poetic fame.

His audience will come, and come to stay. His place, to which he is born, is safer than other earthly dignities. Like our mountain peaks, he has nothing to fear from competition. He can say or sing, "I know my own shall come to me," and with patience await a fit audience, though few.

But we know that the great and inexhaustible thing called "life" is moral to its very core. By moral, we mean the tone and color of what man admires, loves, and longs for beyond the world of sense, something back of what the eye has seen and the ear has heard. Of this, poetry lays hold, not like religion, for action and behavior, but for contemplation only. The poet sees things noble, is thrilled by them and expresses them. That is the poetic limit. Beyond that it is religion and not imagination that bows the will, and makes him a doer as well as sayer of the beautiful. How, as in Byron, the behavior not agreeing with the vision, one sees "a mighty poet in his misery dead!"

The highest possible range of poetic perception, where the spiritual is recognized as interpenetrating the visible, is attained only by a religious temper. Among these mountains, our lowest feeling is that of animal exhilaration; the next, is the enjoyment of mass, outline, and color; above this, is that moral emotion that leads us to give to what we see the feelings of our souls in looking, calling them peaceful, grand, awful. Highest of all it is, when these material majesties are to us as

> Signalings from some high land
> Of One we feel, but dimly understand.

Some poets have begun at the bottom and risen through more or less of these grades of feeling. More have begun at the top, with the heart of man, his fortunes and destinies, and have at once come to the Unseen, with all its interest and dignity.

> O Life, O Death, O World, O Time,
> O Grave, where all things flow,
> 'Tis yours to make our lot sublime
> With your great weight of woe!

If this world is the vestibule of an eternal one—if there is One in whom we live and move and have our being—then our whole view of life ought to be affected thereby, and no great poet in grasping this life can jump the life to come. He must make account of it. Shakespeare may not have been a religious man, but as poet he takes life in a religious aspect. His noblest personages show most the stirrings of a spiritual nature. Their views of sin, of prayer, of pardon, and of judgment are sincere and affecting. This, then, is the highest poetry; it transfigures life, it sees the spiritual beyond.

It has seemed well to give this outline of analysis and definition, that there may be clear before us a standard to which we may steadily refer any given product in verse, to find whether or no it be poetical and its maker entitled to be called a poet. If in the verse life be transfigured, we have poetry. If in it life's moral aspect be also presented, it is poetry of a high order. If it is permeated and transfused with the spiritual, "something more than high endeavor, pure morality, strong enthusiasm," something of the world of power and destiny back of mortal life, then we have the highest poetry practicable to mortal powers.

Having thus preluded that we may have before us some fresh idea of what poetry is, and that we may thus know whom to call poet, and how to value his work, we turn to some outline of Mrs. Jackson's personal history.

The lady came of pure New England pedigree, and her line was Puritan of the Puritans. Students of a generation past used Fiske's *Manual of Classical Literature*, translated from the German by a professor of Amherst College. That professor in 1831 found one of the immortals born in his house, whose mother was of literary tastes and sunny temper. In the straight Calvinistic family the two sons died early. A daughter Anne is Mrs. Banfield of Wolfboro, N. H. Mrs. Fiske died when Helen was twelve, and the professor three years later. They both saw Helen as no vulgar child. She was bright as a star just above the horizon over against them. Versatile, full of life and sparkle, she at twelve was already a character in the quiet college town.

Delicate and difficult, with such a pupil, is the trainer's task. It is to the credit of such schools as the Ipswich Seminary, and that of Abbott in New York, that so fine a vessel was not marred upon their wheel while in process of enlargement and smoothing, for it was of fine clay and sensitive. At twenty-one she entered as bride an old New York family of high position, whose senior member, Washington Hunt, was then governor. Edward B. Hunt was major in the engineers, and Mrs. Hunt's wedded life of thirteen years was an army life as well, with its round of change, its novelties of scene and society. Major Hunt was killed in New York Harbor by the explosion of an invention of his own for firing projectiles under water. Thus at thirty-two a widow, Mrs. Hunt had already lost a son at eleven months; another, bright of temper and gifted, wise beyond his years, was snatched by diphtheria in 1865; and so, in thirteen years a domestic cycle was fully run: lover, bride, mother, widow, and childless. This last son, Rennie (Warren), bound to his mother by ties so naturally intense, made her promise not to take her own life to follow him, pledging himself to revisit her, should the conditions allow of that world whose gate swung unseen just before him. So sure was she that what he failed to do was simply impossible, that while the spiritual world was full welcome and familiar to her thought, the special doctrine

of "spiritualism" she utterly disavowed. For months she was unseen by her nearest friends. She then re-appeared from her cloud, radiant with her full glow of vivacity and kindness. She felt that life with her was done. "I alone am left, who avail nothing," said she bitterly, after burying her husband and boys at West Point. Yet outwardly she made no show of grief. She always shut her sorrows in her own heart. What she taught in song she learned in suffering, and her lines on the "Loneliness of Sorrow," tell us how:

> Majestic in its patience, and more sweet
> Than all things else that can of souls have birth,
> Down to its grave, with steadfast, tireless feet,
> It goes uncomforted, serene, alone,
> And leaves not any name on any stone!

Henceforth this was the rule with a woman of sorrows and acquainted with grief: "Her sufferings for herself, her sunshine for others." About this time (possessing, one may say, such wealth as sufficed for what place and style she chose) she made her home at Newport, R. I., and first came into contact with literary society. Her mind and manners, even her dress and social taste, drew admirers, but a new phase of life was now to open. She had early put some girlish rhymes in a Boston journal. It was left for her shocks of sorrow to open, as blasts open precious veins of metal in our mountains, the poetic gift. After Rennie's death she sent to the *Nation* a poem of fourteen lines, "Lifted Over," signed "Marah." It tells how "Our Father" had in his arms taken up the child and set him down beyond all harm of rough places, and how it was now for her to press on and overtake. To make poetry is an art, capacity for making it is a gift, and so "H. H." found it. At Newport she began to study closely the expression of the gift now stirring in her consciousness. She came rapidly into favor. The *Nation*, the *Independent*, for which she furnished three hundred and seventy-one articles, the *Hearth and Home*, the *Evening Post*, and finally the *Atlantic*, were her publishers. She exulted in this new-found calling. Her work was rapid but careful; she sought and welcomed criticism; she was modest and conscientious; but she took firm hold of her new gift and calling, to utter what was given her, whether listeners came or no.

Five years she was at Newport, counting summers in New

Hampshire and a tour in Europe. In 1872 she was an invalid in California. Getting small relief, she spent the winter of '73–74 in our State of Colorado. Here she met William Sharpless Jackson. At Colorado Springs every incident of her ten years' abode is remembered, as well it might be. The lady with whom she made her first home found her a charming guest. Intent on literary work, she had little leisure, perhaps little relish, for society, but she was full of kindness to all. Her rooms were beautifully furnished, and when her hostess was weary Mrs. "H. H." would give her the easiest chair and lavish upon her an hour of lively entertainment. "Now, my dear, you are rested, aren't you?" she would say, and turn to her own task. She became Mrs. Jackson in October, 1875. He, as we all know, is a Quaker. One might fancy that his repressed, undemonstrative bearing had in her eyes a special attraction, as offering safe anchorage to a versatile, impressible, and restless nature like her own. She built a home to her liking, and made its windows for the reception of the choicest views the fascinating region affords. Upon the adorning of the house she dealt with a lavish hand, and its grounds are beautiful with what Colorado can bear of flowers and greenery. To this day the servants to whom she gave it as a special charge are faithfully keeping it as she left it, and Colorado may boast of one poet's home—a shrine of the muses, on a quiet village corner, where a muse might dwell. Her writing-desk, her table, her chosen books, her portrait, challenge a silent reverence. She soon found on Cheyenne Mountain a "house not made with hands," where she says:

> Under the roof of waving thatch
> I lie all day to wait and watch,
> Where enter banner-gleams of sky
> As pomp of day goes marching by;

from which she looked

> To summer hours in sunny lands,
> To my next house, not made with hands.

She is well remembered in the little town. Her health, her tastes, and her literary engagements made her social circle small, but it was bright with many charms. Far though she was from her early literary centers, she beamed upon them

with growing radiance, like a star that seems larger, brighter, near the remote horizon.

In 1880 came a new phase, a final one in a life where several had now preceded. An ardor of literature now merged in a higher enthusiasm of humanity. She had always been benevolent, and toward the woes of our kind had shown neither want of thought nor want of heart. In Boston she heard Standing Bear and Bright Eyes tell of the wrongs of the Poncas in their ruinous and unlawful removal from Nebraska. At once she put her whole soul into advocacy of Indian rights and redress of Indian wrongs. Dropping other pursuits, she gave herself to study, travel, and correspondence for mastery of the Indian question. In 1883 she published *A Century of Dishonor*. It shows her not quite at home in prose, but it gives the simple, dreary annals of her poor clients in the red light of aroused, indignant sympathy. After visiting Norway for rest, she took a government appointment to examine and report on the "Mission Indians," those unfortunates whose sufferings from the fierce greed of the stronger are not yet ended. Of her work she made a careful, conscientious report to government, but she did not stop with that. The story of the missions, picturesque with simplicity, sacrifice, and devotion, touched her heart and stirred her imagination. She gave in the *Century* magazine a series of articles, quite other than her report, in which she allowed her facts to glow with sympathy and thrill with the pathos of indignation. All this culminated in *Ramona*, which appeared "all hot" in the *Christian Union* in 1884, the last of her intended and acknowledged publications; a plea for Indians as *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was a plea for negroes.

Mrs. Jackson's sun went down while it should yet have been day. She went in 1884 to reside in Los Angeles, California, but maladies closed in upon her—a broken ankle, malarious ailings, and a cancerous affection. In these days of trial, far from old friends, her husband held by the needs of the Rio Grande Road, of which he was receiver, she found new friends and gave them all her heart. She says, "The new is older than the old," as if she had long waited for the friends latest in coming, and was so glad not to miss them. She speaks:

Dear hearts, whose love has been so sweet to know
That I am looking backward as I go,
Am lingering while I haste, and in this rain
Of tears of joy am mingling tears of pain.

She hopes they will say, "How she loved us! 'Twas that which made her dear." She wishes no words of praise but only these.

How full she was of love and sunshine in pain and the shadow of death! She was on good terms with grief.

Dost know Grief well? Hast known her long?

Indeed "H. H." had known grief in many a guise, and grief had been so transformed as to give

Smile to our smile, song to our song,
With songs and smiles our roses fling,
'Till men turn round, in every throng,
To note such joyous pleasuring,
And ask next morn, with eyes that lend
A fervor to the words they say,
"What is her name, that radiant friend
Who walked beside you yesterday?"

Nor was her comfort all of this world's ministering. From her sick bed

My eyes but stray
To eastward, and majestic, bright, arise
Peaks of a range that three days distant lies!
And of the faces, too, that light my day
Most clear, one is a continent away,
The other shines above the farthest skies.

Then, in half humor, she wrote "Habeas Corpus," addressed to Death, who comes to levy upon all that is left of her:

I grudge thee this right hand of mine,
I grudge thee this quick beating heart;
They never gave me coward sign,
Nor played me once a traitor's part.

A feeble, mighty human hand!
A fragile, dauntless human heart!
The universe holds nothing planned
With so sublime, transcendent art.

Ah! well, friend Death, for friend thou art,
I shall be free when thou art through;
Take all there is—take hand and heart—
There must be somewhere work to do.

Four days before her death she poured her soul into her "Last Prayer":

Father, I scarcely dare to pray,
So clear I see, now it is done,
That I have wasted half my day,
And left my work but just begun;
So clear I see that things I thought
Were right or harmless, were a sin;
So clear I see that I have sought,
Unconscious, selfish aims to win;
So clear I see that I have hurt
The souls I might have helped to save;
That I have slothful been, inert,
Deaf to the call thy leaders gave.
In outskirts of thy kingdom vast,
Father, the lowliest spot give me;
Set me the lowliest task thou hast;
Let me, repentant, work for thee!

This came from the recesses of a broken spirit, and with it the prayers and songs of Helen Hunt Jackson are ended. Her husband was now by her bedside to soothe her final hours, but in the order of nature calmness came on and deepened into unconsciousness. On August 12, 1885, she died, entering, let us hope, that Beautiful Gate of which she had said that there

Our crippled beggary, made rich by alms
Of God, shall leap and praise in grateful psalms.

After temporary interment in California her remains were brought to her Colorado home, and in the plainest manner, without eulogy or funeral array, they were laid, as she had directed, on Cheyenne Mountain, always her favorite resort. From this "house not made with hands" the eastward view is wonderful, as the plains spread to the far horizon under the sapphire sky. For the first year the grave was left to the kinkanik and the cards of pilgrims who climbed the steep from the cañon. Of late the visitors, each bringing a pebble, are raising a cairn over the grave, but no carving tells of the dust beneath. Such choice of burial place did not come of freak; it is in harmony with Mrs. Jackson's life, and, without her so meaning it, is a rebuke to the ghastly vanity that gorgeously disguises man's last most abject want—a grave.

"H. H.," as a Christian, calls for careful study. That she was devout, that she dealt justly, loved mercy, and walked hum-

bly with the Lord her God, there can be no doubt. In her poems she accepts Christ as Teacher, Example, and Friend, in love and reverence.

> My share! To-day men call it grief and death;
> I see the joy and life to-morrow;
> And through my tears I call to each, "joint heir
> With Christ, make haste to ask him for thy share."

The writer of "My Legacy" and "A Christmas Symphony," could not have been far from the kingdom of God. She clearly saw in Christ her peace. Many of us, who most deeply admire her, wish she had more openly confessed him as Redeemer, with his people in his sanctuary, but far from us be it, even in our thought, to shut from the heavenly grace those who adore our Master for their not seeing him in our light! At the simple funeral rites in San Francisco, Dr. Stebbins, of the Unitarian Society, officiated, reading her own "Last Words." Of her life and her death, as of her tomb, she said

> Do not adorn with costly shrub, or tree,
> Or flower, the little grave that shelters me;

and so she passes beyond us to the most worthy Judge Eternal.

Her works remain. They are given to the world and are open to its criticism. If it is chiefly as poet that she impresses us, let us remember that she was not poet only. Her literary work was of wide range and always of a high quality. In her prose her style is clear, energetic, and lively. Dr. Holland once thought of giving to her pen an entire number of the *Century;* he was sure that she could fill it with poetry, fiction, travel, criticism, wit, and wisdom: and he could have paid her no higher compliment. He would have run no risk. She touched nothing which she did not adorn. Her resources were great, and around all subjects she threw the fresh tropical light in which she herself saw them. One whose habit was to read her articles came to need no signature; her dash of joy and generosity, her inconsistencies and her errors (not few), were unmistakable and always fascinating. Her poetry belongs to all time, and is to live after her prose is superseded, for it is of the grade which the world cannot willingly let die. If poetry is, as was urged, a transfiguration of life, then here we have it in "The Village Lights."

Only a little village street,
Lying along a mountain's side;
Only the silences which meet
When weary hands and weary feet
By night's sweet rest are satisfied;
Only the dark of summer nights;
Only the commonest of sights,
The glimmer of the village lights.

I know not, then, why it should bring
Into my eyes such sudden tears.
But to the mountain's sheltering
The little village seems to cling,
As child, all unaware of fears,
Unconscious that it is caressed,
In perfect peace and perfect rest
Asleep upon its mother's breast.

No stir, no sound! The shadows creep.
The old and young, in common trust,
Are lying down to wait, asleep,
While life and joy will come to keep
With death and pain what tryst they must.
O faith! for faith almost too great!
Come slow, O day of evil freight!
O village hearts, sleep well, sleep late!

Here is the mother whose "Murray" at eleven months had left her bosom; here is the poet whose thoughts lie too deep for tears; here is life transfigured. Emerson counted her masterpiece to be the sonnet entitled "Thought":

O messenger, art thou the king, or I?
Thou dalliest outside the palace-gate
Till on thine idle armor lie the late
And heavy dews. The morn's bright, scornful eye
Reminds thee; then in subtile mockery
Thou smilest at the window where I wait
Who bade thee ride for life. In empty state
My days go on, while false hours prophesy
Thy quick return; at last, in sad despair,
I cease to bid thee, leave thee free as air;
When lo, thou stand'st before me glad and fleet,
And lay'st undreamed-of-treasures at my feet.
Ah! messenger, thy royal blood to buy
I am too poor. Thou art the king, not I.

"H. H." has no descriptive poetry. All is of higher grade, of what we feel, think, and do. Into none of her poems is more true power compressed than into this of "Spinning":

Like a blind spinner in the sun, I tread my days;
I know that all my threads will run appointed ways;
I know each day will bring its task, and, being blind, no more I ask.

I do not know the use or name of that I spin;
I only know that some one came and laid within
My hand the thread, and said, "Since you are blind, but one thing you can do."

Sometimes the threads so rough and fast and tangled fly
I know wild storms are sweeping past, and fear that I
Shall fall, but dare not try to find a safer place, since I am blind.

I know not why, but I am sure that tint and place
In some great fabric to endure past time and race
My threads will have: so from the first, though blind, I never felt accurst.

I think, perhaps, this trust was sprung from one short word
Said over me when I was young—so young I heard
It knowing not that God's name signed my brow, and sealed me his, though blind.

But whether this be seal or sign within, without,
It matters not. The bond divine I never doubt.
I know he set me here, and still, and glad, and blind, I wait his will;

But listen, listen, day by day, to hear their tread
Who bear the finished web away, and cut the thread,
And bring God's message in the sun, "Thou poor blind spinner, work is done."

The poet's work grows upon the critic's mind. Three years from her death, who can declare the verdict of posterity? Yet one may take this risk and say, that no man in America, no woman using our English tongue, has to this time taken place above her. She has redeemed from rebuke a generation called unpoetic. From the wondrous music of her "Gondolieds" we may adopt this—the future may have as good or better:

We close our eyes;
Cold wind blows from the Bridge of Sighs:
Kneeling, we wait to-morrow.

The thoughts of men seem great in their own day, but the ages roll, and soon, as to the traveler eastward from our mountain-chain, all but the noblest sink from view. Is it extravagant to say that the poet whose grave is on Cheyenne will glow afar in the horizon of literature until the hill shall melt away, and the grim old Peak shall, frowning, guard her grave no longer?

Art. VI.—BULGARIA.

By Bulgaria we mean the territory more or less inhabited by the Bulgarian people: in other words, the whole of Turkey in Europe; embracing an area of 85,000 square miles, with a population of 7,000,000.* In this country the missionaries of the Methodist Episcopal and Congregational Churches have labored for the last thirty years.

The Country.

In point of position, Bulgaria is not only unsurpassed, but well-nigh unrivaled, in Europe. It is the home of the descendants of a great people, and is invested with rich historical and poetical associations, and has been the scene of great historical events. In days of persecution it was a safe asylum for religious refugees; the Paulicians sought and found refuge there. To Bulgaria are turned the eyes of the world even now. Here is to be the battle-field on which is largely to be decided not only the political future of Europe, but also the religious condition of millions of Slavs. The conflict has begun. What shall be the result to Christ's kingdom? Will Russia throttle the infant Protestant Church which is struggling to make its way, or will Bulgaria be conquered for Christ?

Bulgaria was the first of the European nations to resist the Greek and Roman ecclesiastical power. The two opposing parties were obliged to recognize her patriarch as early as the tenth century. She was among the earliest of European countries which had the Scriptures translated into its own language, and the services in the churches performed and prayers offered in the vernacular of the people. The topography of the country is eminently suited for agriculture; the land is of excellent quality, the surface being alluvial, which frequently reaches a depth of fifteen feet. The mountains belong to the aristocracy of mountains; they are not only rich in forests, but wood and pasture land alternate, being grouped in such a way that it both benefits the flocks and adds beauty to the scenery, which lies spread

* [The population of the Bulgarian Principality is usually set down as about 3,000,000. The writer must, therefore, intend his figures to include all the Bulgarians in European Turkey.—Editor.]

out in beautiful plains and undulating and gently rising hills. Some of the land on the very top of the mountains is cultivated for summer crops. But to see the mountains is a sight worth traveling thousands of miles—the hillsides being wooded with fine spreading elms. The mountain ranges run at right angles to each other, making the climate so varied as to find in Bulgaria the arctic, the temperate, and almost the torrid zones.

Nature has given advantages to Bulgaria which few countries in the world possess. The ordinary products of food and manufactures are seen in abundance, and, in addition, there are but few rare and valuable productions which she cannot boast of producing, while there are other articles which find a home in Bulgaria alone. We never speak of Macedonia as a very productive country, though outsiders seem to think so. What Herodotus said of it is true to-day. He said:

> The ear of wheat and barley is four digits broad, but the immense height to which sesamum stalks grow, although I have witnessed it myself, I dare not mention, lest those who have not visited the country should disbelieve my report.

The soil yields to-day no less than three hundred-fold of corn and nearly a hundred-fold of wheat. In some parts it bears two crops a year.

The People.

They are grave, serious, and sincere; quiet, peaceful, industrious, and frugal; earnest, reverent, and devout; docile, loyal, and honest, so that even their enemies praise them for their integrity. In appearance they are in all respects European; their stature is usually above the medium height; cheeks ruddy; hair generally light, but sometimes dark. In their every-day life they are polite and kind. They honor their parents, love their children, and respect those in authority. As soldiers they exhibit the fiery valor of the Gaul and the invincible courage of the German; to these they add a remarkable degree of patience. When they lay aside their warlike habits, they resemble the English. Their genius is inclined to the peaceful pursuits of agriculture and commerce. They wield the implements of war only when stern necessity compels them. War with them is a means of defense, not a trade. But once aroused, like their

forefathers, they sweep every thing before them with irresistible fury.

The ancient Bulgarians, according to Procopius, an author very unfriendly to them, were neither malevolent nor revengeful, but sincere and generous. They were hospitable, obliging, and humane. Although polytheists, they reverenced one supreme Creator, and believed in the resurrection of the dead and in a future life. They differed from other heathen in not sacrificing human beings. Their language, as that of the modern Bulgarians, has no word to express or acknowledge the rank of superior. They had no common people—all were nobles and of equal rank. The war captives were released from their bonds and made free as soon as they set foot upon Bulgarian soil!

The ancient Bulgarian language was perfect in its form, and copious in its expression, which it is even to this day. The Scriptures were translated into it in the ninth century. It has been and is the sacred language of many millions of Slavs. The modern Bulgarians, then, come of a powerful race, and have a great history. Read the history of the wars of the Middle Ages, and you will see how often the Bulgarian armies figured in the front of battle. More than once they carried their victorious arms to the very gates of Constantinople. Twice they penetrated the walls of that great city. Their heroic princes dictated more than once conditions of peace to trembling emperors. But their sterling character is best seen after their fall under the Turks. They withstood the Turkish genius of strangulation—an art by which every industry is strangled and the people impoverished, and all self-respect and ambition destroyed, and every motive to better one's condition is rooted out. Instead of being blotted out of existence, the Bulgarians, whose very name was almost forgotten, maintained their separate national existence under most unfavorable circumstances. They survived through five centuries of oppression very little changed from the time of Samuel, their famous king—their vitality and vigor being the same. Though enslaved, they rose from slaves to masters.

The Bulgarian is stolidly upright, full of shrewdness and good sense; he is naturally very industrious and frugal, and has a natural impulse to moral and religious advancement. He is not affectionate toward strangers; but win his confidence, and you

touch his tender fibers; then he becomes kindly and amiable. The American, however, is not a stranger to him. Dr. Hamlin says:

> I, an absolute stranger and a foreigner, announcing myself as an American and a teacher, was always received with a respectful cordiality that was quite remarkable. There was a natural dignity and politeness in it that I should expect to find only in a much higher state of civilization. It seems to pervade their family life. Even the poorer inhabitants, whose dwellings were neat and clean, would receive you with profound respect, but without any sign of embarrassment.

The Bulgarians are a practical folk, bent upon improving themselves; and would you blame them if they have a tendency to distrust unsought friendship? Where are now Russia's professions? And where would they be had they trusted her as their best friend? The people are ambitious. They see that their only and best road to the recovery of complete independence and strength lies in the development of their productive country, morally, intellectually, and materially.

Bulgaria started, nine years ago, her political career with a young and inexperienced prince (who changed his political views half a dozen times in the first year of his reign); she started with a democratic constitution, modeled after the Constitution of the United States; an untrained army, having no leaders of her own, and not one man of any practical experience in government; her percentage of educated men was small—having a very intelligent peasantry, but few educated men—and her society was disorganized by war and Russian occupation. Russian policy compelled her prince to abdicate. This, instead of embarrassing her, as was expected, only gave her an opportunity to exhibit her genius for self-government, and for steering the ship of state out of difficulties, and at the same time making great speed in her progress. The administration was carried on as though nothing had happened.

The Marquis of Bath says:

> The people are giving evidence of a political sagacity which might often be sought for in vain among the nations that have made the furthest advance in civilization.

A writer in the *Fortnightly Review* says:

> By their wise and prudent policy, and by the self-restraint which has been exercised by the whole people, they have on the

one hand held their own, and on the other made an armed occupation difficult. Their spirit of independence was well known, but the ability which they have displayed in war and in finance was somewhat of a surprise.

In the war with Servia Russia withdrew her officers from the Bulgarian army, with the hope of embarrassing her and having her beaten by Servia. Instead of that, Bulgaria gave Servia a sound thrashing—a lesson not to be soon forgotten. The people of Samuel stood their ground against the unprovoked aggression with an energy worthy of Samuel himself. She is still withstanding Russia. What a day may bring forth we know not.

So far, in every conflict with Russia Bulgaria has won the battle. Her heroic resistance to Russian dictation revealed the material of which she is made. It is impossible to exaggerate the self-reliance and intensity of national sentiment. There is scarcely a man in Bulgaria who does not believe that they can work out their own political salvation, and be able to reach the summit of power and influence, if only left to themselves. Their platform is, "Bulgaria for the Bulgarians;" and they are willing to bide their time for the consummation of their hopes. How bravely she resisted Russia you have read in the dailies. Nor is it only a brave thing for 3,000,000 people to resist an empire of over 100,000,000 strong: a strong pathos mingles with the courage, for Bulgaria glories in the marvelous magnitude and strength of Russia. The people patriotically are ready to submit to any sacrifice to increase their strength, and thereby secure full independence. To resist Russia means the wounding of very tender feelings in Bulgarian hearts. For it makes Bulgaria seem ungrateful to her deliverers, unmindful of the ties of kinship, and apparently to desecrate the graves in which Russian and Bulgarian heroes sleep. Shakespeare represents the mighty Cæsar as disdaining to defend himself, and losing heart, when he discerned Brutus, his beloved friend, among the assassins. Not so with Bulgaria. She saw her friend, who saved her from the fire, trying to drown her. She controlled every feeling, however honorable, because she is faithful to her duty. She has adopted the soundest principles of government, has welcomed with enthusiasm the ideas that lead the world. She believes in education, and in

a free press; she relies upon popular suffrage. The people, as king, leads and is not led. Bulgaria clings to her rights and independence with a devotion of which she is not ashamed.

The Bulgarian horizon is overhung by a stormy element, which threatens her independence and lofty desires of improvement. This cloud is the extension of a system which is the negation of political life and progress, and the substitution for government of a procrustean militarism—the despotism and cruelty of Russia. Why did Russia take this step? To crush out of the principality the growth of liberalism and Protestantism that is taking root in that land of freedom. There is no station, no church, nay, not even an individual believer, but is known to Russia's agents. The writer in the *Fortnightly* just referred to says:

> Russia feels that Bulgaria is now, from some points of view, so close to Moscow that absolutism in Russia is at stake if liberalism is to prevail within Bulgaria.

Says another reviewer:

> The national superiority of the Bulgarians was always an obstacle to the Russian would-be military and civil administrators of Bulgaria; and the final result, as we have all seen, has been the complete expulsion of the intruders.

Religion.

Christianity entered Bulgaria first through captives taken in war, and in the middle of the ninth century the whole nation was baptized to Christianity by the two Bulgarian apostles, Cyril and Methodius. To narrate the circumstances under which Christianity was introduced into Bulgaria—the intrigues and quarrels of the Byzantine patriarch and the Roman pontiff, both seeking to incorporate the Bulgarian Church—the wise conduct of the Bulgarian kings to establish an independent Church—is a record at once interesting and honorable. Bulgaria was the first to be recognized both by Rome and Constantinople as a Christian and independent Church. The Armenian and Nestorian Churches were independent, but they were anathematized as heretical; and as Bulgaria could not be persuaded to give up her God-given right to praise and thank God in her own vernacular, her language was accepted as another scriptural language, and it became the ecclesiastical

language of all the Slavs. To Bulgaria belongs, also, the first honor for persevering opposition to ecclesiastical tyranny, corruption, and oppression. She raised the first contest during the Dark Ages which was a guiding star to the succeeding reformers. From Bulgaria sprang the Bogomiles, Cathari, and many other forerunners of the Reformation. She was the first to break through the crust of superstition and prejudice. She did not mind threats and persecution; but four hundred years before the burning of John Huss, the first Slavic martyr, dared to raise her voice and proclaim liberty of conscience and of speech.

The Bulgarian Church was an independent Church, excepting for about two hundred years, from the ninth to the eighteenth century (1777), when its patriarchate was abolished by the Sultan. Then followed the most cruel oppression. All Bulgarian books were burned, schools closed, the national language was excluded from every thing pertaining to the church, the Bible and all religious books were printed and the church services performed in Greek, which language was unknown and repulsive to the people. The clergy were superseded by rapacious Greeks, who, not knowing even the language of the people, and holding their places solely as means of gain, and aiming only to keep the people under the galling yoke of ecclesiastical tyranny, thought only of extorting the last penny from their unhappy flocks.

The so-called Christianity in Bulgaria is not Christian at all. While there may be many devout souls for whose salvation we may entertain a large hope, the religion, as a system, is universally degenerated into bare superstition, in which the object of worship is not God, but, as in the Romish Church, the Virgin Mary and a host of saints. Crucifixes and images of saints confront you every-where—in the churches, on the highways, and in the homes. These are as real idols, and are regarded by a large proportion of the people in the same light as in India are the images of Vishnu and Shiva by their devotees. The church doctrine has degenerated to formalism, which leaves the heart untouched and the life unchanged. The people are without the knowledge of the Bible, the priests keeping it as far as possible from them, fearing lest their eyes be opened, and they desert their superstitions and idolatry.

The priests have no regard for the truth; they tell big stories about the Bible. They are often drunkards, and are shamelessly licentious; their ruling faults are ignorance, avarice, and wantonness. They dethrone Christ and obscure his salvation; they make the ordinances a means of subsistence, and the bishops dispensers of grace. For the "one Mediator between God and man" there are scores of mediatorial priests, who receive the confession of murderers and wink at the crime for part of the price.

Missionary Work.

The country was occupied in the year 1857, but the work has been difficult to prosecute and slow to develop, the Bulgarians not taking kindly to religous teachings from those of a foreign race and country. But we must remember that centuries of Ottoman misrule and Greek rapine probably intensified, if not created, this antipathy. In spite of this the missionaries have succeeded beyond reasonable expectation. Some expected and required of the missionaries to exert a much greater influence than the Gospel has yet done in Christian lands. When the conversion of the world is announced, we will know that the millennium has come. Not being quite ready for the millennium, we must be satisfied with the quiet dissemination of gospel truth throughout the world, to prepare the people for that happy consummation.

The question, then, is not, Is Bulgaria converted to Protestantism? but, What progress has been made to prepare the way for her evangelization? To appreciate the work, and its extent, one must go among the people. So long as the people were themselves ignorant, the ignorance of their priests did not trouble them; but as soon as their eyes were opened they became aware, not only of the deficiency, but also of the wickedness of their pastors. They found the clergy vicious, and delighting in the pleasures of this world, and spending their time in the taverns, drinking and gambling. The missionary work has weakened the power of superstition, has multiplied schools, taught even the old to read, increased general intelligence and knowledge of truth, and promoted enterprise—in short, it has made Bulgaria what she is to-day.

The first thing the missionaries did was the translation of the

Bible into modern Bulgarian, as the ancient had become obsolete. Next, they published school-books and newspapers. These wrought a great revolution; from about three hundred schools, in the whole of Bulgaria, there are now more than ten thousand. In these schools the ceremonial usages of the Greek Church were inculcated, accompanied by a little reading and writing. The first exercises in writing were in a trough full of sand by the finger, followed by lead-pencil and ink. The lessons were learned aloud by the whole school at once. When admonition failed, bodily pain was inflicted, by the rod, by placing the pupils in an uncomfortable position, by imprisonment, and by keeping them late at school. In place of these there are now, all through Bulgaria, schools which will compare favorably with the public schools in the United States. There are primary schools for the elementary subjects. Then come schools similar to the German Realschulen for history, foreign languages, national science, music, and drawing. When the parents cannot pay, the children receive their education gratis, and if they wish to go to college the government sends them to the European universities, where there are hundreds of Bulgarian students.

I mention education under the missionary work because it is the result of that work. Religious toleration, too, has followed in the wake of the missionary. Religious freedom is carried into effect both in creed and worship, even to public processions and other religious demonstrations. Nay, Bulgaria has gone a step farther. She engages Turkish Hodgas to instruct the Turkish children, Jewish masters to train the Jewish offspring, and Greek teachers to keep together the Greek youth.

Work of Evangelization.

Most of the people who can read possess the word of God. Hundreds of hearts have been touched by the Spirit of God and are true Christians. They stay out of the Church because they have had no occasion for confession of their faith, though there are many who desire and purpose to acknowledge Christ before men. Others suppress this desire by their self-diffidence or ignorance. Mr. Jenney, a missionary, says:

> I have met such men and women who have been Protestants for a year or two, who have had no opportunity to speak to us;

and on questioning them I have found that they had formed a correct judgment on fundamental truths.

Peace is one of the things most essential to progress. The dew is not shed forth in the torrent of the storm. It is distilled on every blade of grass on a calm summer evening. No man has time to enjoy the beauty of the flames when his own house is on fire. There has been a constant struggle in Bulgaria—first, with the Greek Church; then with the Greeks and Turks; now, with the Greeks, Turks, and Russians combined! In the midst of this turmoil the Spirit of God has been working. Men have left the State Church and have thrown their lot with the persecuted few.

"Is there no missionary," asked a Macedonia Bulgarian of the visiting missionary—"is there no missionary to come over to us and live here? We want to be taught the truth as it is found in the gospels. Do you see that house and garden?" (pointing to a new house and a large garden.) "I will give any missionary the use of them rent free, if one will only come and occupy them!"

The American missionaries brought to Bulgaria many and great endowments of illumination. These they did not focus so that the light be thrown upon themselves. They hid themselves in the splendor of their genius. They entered a great darkness; the torches which they held in their hands they lifted above their heads, and while they themselves stood in darkness, unobserved by any one at home or abroad, their light went forth to lighten the nation.

What is thought of their success we will hear from their enemies, the men at the head of the Bulgarian Church. These, speaking of the present trouble, say:

> There is a greater evil than Radicalism and Nihilism in Bulgaria, which, while growing quietly and almost unobservedly, still surely is sapping the vital forces of the country. Is it not a shame that the Catholics and Protestants come to us as to some wild and pagan tribes? Here is the chief trouble, the cause of the internal disintegration, of discontent, of atheism, and of enmity to Russia. The Protestants are more dangerous than the Catholics; they are very numerous and powerful, counting among themselves our most important leaders. Robert College is another source of evil. During the eighteen years of its existence that college has given education to more than six hundred Bul-

garians! Some of them, being Protestants, play very important roles in the Bulgarian politics of to-day.

You have it, then, from the mouth of the most bitter enemies of the missionaries, that the principality's young patriots, many of them, were educated by Christian teachers at Robert College; that these were intelligent students of the history and of the constitution of the United States; that these disgusted the Russian agents and the bishops; and that the people themselves have been led by the quiet and unassuming American missionaries.

There are many who are convinced of the truth of the Gospel, but they sever themselves slowly and reluctantly from their connection with the State Church. The passion of nationality —and there is no Bulgarian who is destitute of it—is so strong that their yearning love for their native country is mistaken for love of the State Church.

Besides the general influence of the work there are individual conversions; living and evangelical churches have been formed; a native ministry is being raised; and books and Christian periodicals are spread broadcast.

The Need is More Men and Money.

The Bulgarian youth who receive their education in the universities of Europe return skeptics or, what is worse, [illegible] dels. Their influence is to be counteracted by Christian teaching and living, example being more potent than eloquence.

If Bulgaria has survived the strangulating policy of Turkey for five hundred years, and Greek rapine for one hundred years, it follows that there is something in her which deserves to be perpetuated. Her energy, her resources, her faculties, her tastes and proclivities, and every thing that she has, have been preserved by Providence for some future usefulness. If they are kept by Providence for some special purpose, it would be asking God to give to her people the Gospel. Nothing else has the power to rouse her mind, or make her a power in the world of civilization. Whatever that garden of the world is to contribute to the world's welfare has to come from the germination of the seeds now planted. What they shall be is to be decided by the Protestant Church in the United States.

EDITORIAL MISCELLANY.

DR. CURRY'S VACATED CHAIR.

As the reader has doubtless already noted, Dr. Goodsell elsewhere records the leading facts in the honorable career of our beloved and lamented Dr. Curry. With these facts he also gives an appreciative analysis of his unique and truly great character. Nothing, therefore, need be said here except that his death is a serious loss to the *Review*, as it is also to the Church. The weight of his impressive personality, the breadth of his thought, the largeness of his views, the boldness of his criticism on current events, and his singularly conservative progressiveness will be sorely missed by those who have so long derived both pleasure and profit from the products of his exuberantly fertile pen. But God willed his departure, and it is not for men to complain.

On the 7th of June last the Doctor wrote me, saying, "I have it in mind, if my health shall improve, to give myself a vacation of two or three months, and if so I shall be glad to place the *Review* under your care for that time." But instead of taking a vacation he, after a period of painful suffering, was taken to his everlasting rest. Just before that sad event occurred, immediate action being imperative, the Book Agents, influenced, I presume, by the intention expressed in the above named letter, requested me to proceed at once with the preparation of the November number. I did so. At a meeting of the Book Committee, summoned as early as was practicable by its chairman, Dr. Crooks was elected to be Dr. Curry's successor. Much to my regret that highly accomplished gentleman declined to serve. Before receiving his declination the committee adjourned, but before its adjournment it requested me, in case of the Doctor's non-acceptance, to supervise the *Review* until next May. If I had been a possible candidate for election to its chair by the coming General Conference I, too, should have refused to accept this responsibility. But though my age and health make my candidacy for its chair a thing not to be thought of, I yet thought I might perform the temporary service required by the action of the Book Committee. Hence I consented to supervise the issue of four numbers of the *Review*. I therefore temporarily *occupy*, without pretending to *fill*, Dr. Curry's chair, for "what can the man do that cometh after the king?"

Necessarily the present number has been hastily prepared, and what is done in haste is rarely well done. The last weeks of the departed Doctor's life, had he been well, would have been spent, at least in part, in its preparation. But as that was impossible it fell into my hands at a date that made it necessary to do every thing quickly. Aided, therefore, by the venerable Dr. Longking, I hurried to the printing office such contributions as the Doctor had wholly or partly agreed to accept.

Dr. Goodsell then kindly consented to prepare the biographical paper on Dr. Curry, and I gave myself to the writing of editorial articles and reviews of books. With these frank statements I leave what has been done to the friendly judgment of the readers of the *Review*.

DANIEL WISE.

BISHOP HARRIS.

OF the death of Bishop Harris the Church is but too well informed. He too was a king among men—a man who was beloved by all who knew him, but best loved by those who knew him best. Though heavily burdened by manifold official duties, Dr. Buckley, in response to my very earnest request, has consented to write an article on the bishop's life and character for the January number of the *Review*, which will also contain his portrait.

CURRENT TOPICS.

THE SUPPRESSION OF BRIBERY.

IT is an observation of Johnson that "every government, say the politicians, is perpetually degenerating toward corruption." This remark, which is substantially a deduction from the history of ancient nations, is true in so far as it recognizes the fact that in every age human depravity, under every form of government, (our own not excepted,) constantly seeks to make the administration of governments tributary, not to the highest welfare of society, but to the aggrandizement of self-seeking individuals. The religious and moral sentiment of a nation may so counteract this depravity as to prevent the absolute degeneration of its government. Yet the tendency of wickedness will always be in that direction. In the Roman Empire, owing to the feebleness of religious sentiment, depravity triumphed, and its government finally became irredeemably corrupt. Under Christian constitutional governments depraved men are held in check by the strong restraints of public opinion. Yet as riches and luxurious living increase, such men struggle to obtain possession of their legislative and administrative offices as means of increasing their wealth, and of feasting on the flatteries which men love to whisper in the ears of the possessors of power. And in this desperate struggle they do not scruple to use their riches as instruments of corruption. They become buyers of men, offering them money "as a motive to the performance of functions for which the proper motive ought to be a conscientious sense of duty." This is what is popularly known as bribery, which is a vice having its roots in the selfism of him who offers a bribe, and begetting in him who accepts it a low desire to acquire money by a base surrender of moral principle. And because bribery corrupts its dupes, corruption and bribery, though not properly synonyms, are very generally used as equivalent terms.

The prevalence of bribery in our political life, if not general, as one may reasonably hope it is not, is yet so common that one at all familiar with political affairs will not dispute its existence. It is too well known that delegates to nominating conventions, electors at the polls, members of legislatures and of Congress, municipal officers, jurors, and even judges, are not unfrequently persuaded by gifts of money or promises of political place to perform their several functions not independently, as good citizens should, but subserviently, and contrary to their convictions of duty, as the briber may dictate. These are facts not to be intelligently denied. Opinions may differ as to the frequency of their occurrence; but no citizen who comprehends what is meant by the well known description of our government, as being of the people, by the people, and for the people—no moralist who recognizes the vital relation which moral principle sustains to the orderly maintenance of our political system—will deny that these facts, be they many or few, are dragons' teeth, destined, if not destroyed, to appear in the future of our national life as its destructive enemies. If our voters, legislators, and official administrators are to become the slaves of unprincipled rich men in numbers sufficient to make the laws and control the government, our boasted freedom will be little less than a farcical pretense. Instead of a self-governed people, we shall be slaves to the despotism of the unprincipled few whom Coleridge designates "sycophants of the populace;" wealthy scoundrels, skilled in the hateful art of perverting an admirable system of free government into an enginery of irresponsible despotism; men who make liberty a watchword, but

> "License they mean when they cry liberty;
> For who loves that, must first be wise and good."

But, it will be said, "This result, though theoretically possible, will never be reached in our case. The people will nip this growing evil in the bud." Perhaps they will. Yet from present appearances there is reason to apprehend that popular indifference will suffer it to grow until it blossoms and bears a heavy crop of its poisonous fruit. Though admitted by thinking minds to be "a contagion of the soul" which may "sink deeper and creep on to unsuspected lengths," it is yet viewed by the great public with what Coleridge describes as "that lazy half-attention which amounts to a mental yawn." The people generally are not keenly awake to its monstrosity as a political vice. They censure it, but they do so in feeble tones, and soften their detestation of it by indulging in laughter at the adroitness of those who are guilty of it. That the moral sense of the country will, by and by, assert itself, and create a public opinion which will blast the reputation and kill the prospects of the politician who seeks to buy his way to office with bribes, is scarcely to be doubted by any one who takes fair account of the religious forces at work in the nation. Our real danger therefore is, that our indifference may suffer it to grow into an evil of such magnitude, and to become so widely diffused throughout our political machinery, that its extirpation will be a

difficult and costly task. Corruption in the body politic, like poison in the human body, is deadly in its effects. It is surely wiser to administer an antidote before the plague is fairly working in the blood than to wait until the patient is almost beyond recovery.

Bribery has been called the inveterate vice of an imperfect civilization. It is a characteristic feature of Oriental despotisms. So debased is the moral sense of their subjects, that, as a well-informed writer observes, "It is difficult to get the Oriental mind to understand how it is reasonable to expect the temptation of a bribe to be resisted." In Russia, where the principles of a higher civilization and the teaching of a Church which, though spiritually dead, yet retains a theoretical hold of Christian truth, are in conflict with the Oriental spirit and practice, bribery is systematically practiced, both in its official departments and in its law courts. When officially discovered, which is not often, it is unmercifully punished. Yet, despite this severity, every department of its government is honeycombed by it, because public opinion is too unenlightened or too corrupt to condemn it.

England, though more highly civilized and better instructed, by purer views of Christian truth, has suffered much in the past from both official and electoral bribery. In the time of Walpole, who did not scruple to unblushingly assert that every man had his price, and to buy the votes of members of Parliament, official bribery was notoriously common. And in more recent times it is thought, not without reason, that railway and other profitable charters have been procured by means of Bank of England notes surreptitiously placed in the itching palms of members of the House of Commons, or by other equally immoral inducements.

Electoral bribery, though quite common in the early part of the eighteenth century, is said to be rarely practiced in the England of to-day. A close network of carefully constructed laws protects the purity of the ballot box, and a strongly expressed public opinion sustains those laws. Yet it is a curious fact, that, when it was the common practice of Parliamentary candidates to buy the votes of the small class of humble voters who, prior to the reform bill, which gave the right of suffrage to the great body of the people, possessed the electoral franchise "not by qualification but by privilege," bribery was viewed not as a crime, but as a deed of unselfish kindness to the needy voter! The candidate was ambitious to gain the honorable position of a legislator. He had abundant, even superfluous, wealth. The voter was poor. Where then is the harm, said an improperly educated public opinion, if this rich man gives that poor voter a price for his vote? The question assuredly denoted a surprising degree of moral blindness in those who asked it, inasmuch as it proved them unable to perceive wrong in the voter who sold his conviction of duty to the State for a golden gift to himself, and wrong in the candidate who tempted the poor man to make his greed of gold, instead of his sense of duty, the motive of his voting. Happily for England, since she has made suffrage practically universal, the moral sense of her people has become sufficiently acute to perceive that bribery is a vice too pernicious

to the common welfare to be tolerated. And to-day that opinion demands, on pain of legal penalties and social infamy, that her legislators shall be able without fear, and in the spirit of Samuel the prophet, to ask, "Whom have I bribed? Of whose hands have I received any bribe to blind mine eyes therewith?" Electoral bribery, if not extirpated, as it probably is not, is now esteemed scandalous in England, and men refrain from it, if not for conscience' sake, yet through fear of social censure and contempt.

In this connection, and as showing the inefficiency of laws against this degrading vice, unless strongly supported by popular opinion, it is well to note the statement of Sir Fitzroy Kelly, an eminent lawyer, who as late as 1854 said in the British House of Commons: "It is quite useless to add to the penalties by which the commission of bribery is now followed, either with respect to the voter or candidate. They had seen that imprisonment, unlimited except by the discretion or mercy of the judge, heavy pecuniary penalties, disfranchisement, disqualification to hold office, to vote, or to sit in Parliament, and even the punishment of transportation where perjury had accompanied bribery, had been all inadequate to repress the offense. For they had found that the bribery and every species of corruption that prevailed at the last general election equaled, if they did not exceed, that which had ever been known at any former period of our history." This scathing declaration was made little more than thirty years ago. If, therefore, it be true that bribery in English politics is becoming so odious a vice in the estimation of the public that the laws against it can be enforced, and its convicted perpetrators be socially ostracized, a long step toward its extirpation has been taken. The possibility of driving this great political immorality out of the political machinery of a self-governing community is pretty nearly demonstrated.

These facts, gathered in part from the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and herein commented upon, are on the whole encouraging to those who deplore the practice of bribery in American political life. They show that while this hateful vice cannot be extirpated by law alone, it can be by law strongly supported by public sentiment. When the attention of the people is earnestly called to it—when they are made to study its hideous features, and to comprehend that the man who commits it is corrupt in heart and utterly unworthy to be intrusted with the responsibilities of office, either civic, state, or national—they will rise in the majesty of their strength and demand not only greater stringency in the law, if that be necessary, but also the most vigorous energy in its enforcement on the part of courts and their prosecuting officers. When a man known to be guilty of bribery is openly treated as a traitor to free institutions, for whom no man will vote, and whom no party will trust, then the vice, if it does not wholly disappear, will skulk in the deepest shades of ignominious fear.

The fact that some of the New York aldermen who so shamefully abused their trust by accepting bribes, for which they voted a valuable franchise to the parties who built the Broadway railroad, are to-day suffering the penalty of their crime in a state prison is evidence that the

American mind is beginning to look on bribery as a vice that must be no longer tolerated. The general satisfaction expressed when Jacob Sharp, the representative bribe-giver, was convicted and sentenced to a felon's doom; the regret of the public that two judges found what they considered legal grounds for granting stays of the execution of Sharp's just sentence, and the fear of many that the ingenuity of highly-paid lawyers who are more in sympathy with the culprit than with public morality will find some crooked way by which to wrest the hoary-headed criminal from the hands of outraged justice, are facts affording still stronger evidence that a tide of popular hostility to the odious and dangerous evil is slowly rising. Still it must be confessed and regretted that this hostile spirit is less widespread and less vigorous than the nature of the case demands. The public does not yet clearly recognize the palpable fact that, if the corrupt use of money to influence elections and to determine legislation becomes an established and tolerated practice, it will "eat away the very substance of our institutions." If unprincipled men can, by the purchase of votes, place a majority of their candidates in Congress and in our State Legislatures, they will establish a despotism more to be dreaded than that of legitimate monarchs whose governments are not regulated by constitutional restrictions. Such monarchs have permanent personal and family interests, which depend on the peace and prosperity of their subjects. These interests compel them to be more or less conservative in their administrations. But what would a despotism of bribe-givers be but a despotism of self-seeking scoundrels, recognizing no limit to their depredations on the wealth and liberties of the country but the sufferance of a people so far corrupted by their selfish greed for bribes as to be almost incapable of being moved by the impulses of a generous patriotism? If such men could, by bribery, so manipulate the machinery of political parties as to secure the election of themselves or their servile creatures, and thereby defeat the will of the majority of the people, nothing of freedom and self-government would be left them but empty names. The grand drama of American liberty would then be played out, and American freemen present to a disappointed world the spectacle of men acting a pretentious farce.

But it is said that the intelligence of the people will never permit such a political condition to be brought about. True; but that this is the tendency of bribery is self-evident. And to check this tendency it is needful that it be so clearly perceived and deeply felt by the whole people, that the now rising tide of hostility to this vice may swell into a flood. Neither electoral, legislative, judicial, nor administrative bribery will then be permitted. The man who strives to buy a nomination—who sends his henchmen to the polls to buy the votes of ignorant and greedy electors—will be both politically and socially banned. His candidacy will be scouted, his election defeated, and his reputation as a man blasted. In like manner the governor, the member of Congress, the senator, the judge, the state assemblyman, the juror, the mayor, or the alderman who is detected in accepting a bribe of any kind will be regarded as a political leper, and, even

if not legally punished, will be shunned by all whose patriotism is deeper than their desire for social recognition by a rich man whose hands are stained with this odious vice. When popular opposition to bribery rises to this height, there will be no serious difficulty in enforcing the laws which provide for the punishment of those who commit it. Recognizing the criminality of the act, men will learn to regard its perpetrator as a criminal. They will not cultivate intimate friendship with a man who, by giving bribes, demonstrates the corruption of his own heart, his disposition to be the corrupter of other men, and his utter lack of genuine patriotic feeling.

Is it objected that such ostracism is too severe? Is it contended that a patriotic citizen may innocently live in unrestrained social companionship with a notorious bribe-giver? Doubtless many do so contend, but why? The reason is, that the objector is not possessed by a true conception of such a man's criminality. He does not take full note of the fact that the bribe-giver tramples both on his obligations as a man and his duties as a citizen. These bind him to refrain from every act that tends either to the destruction or diminution of the happiness of society; they require him to implicitly obey the laws; to secure for every man, as far as he may, the enjoyment of his rights as a man and a citizen, and redress for his wrongs; to assist in the enforcement of the laws; to do all in his power to make his fellow citizens wiser and better, and to help select for official positions such men as are best qualified to perform their prescribed duties. These are the universally acknowledged duties of every citizen. But he who is guilty of bribery violates them all. When he buys a vote he corrupts a fellow-citizen, he disobeys the laws, he persuades a man to misuse his political right, thereby making him not a better but a worse man; in buying his own way to office he keeps out the man best fitted for it, and in securing it for himself he puts in one morally unfitted to fill it. Viewing him in this light, who can question the propriety of denying him the hearty social recognition and distinguishing courtesies due to a good citizen and an innocent man?

It cannot, indeed, be intelligently questioned. As we have said, bribery is a crime, and the briber is a criminal. Deadly diseases demand strong remedies. Hence, to kill the vice society must frown on the man who is guilty of it; it must also punish him as the law provides. In fact, it is impossible for men to really respect him, since, as John Foster observes, "By a law as deep in human nature as any of its distinctions between good and evil, it is impossible to give respect or confidence to a man who habitually disregards some of the primary ordinances of morality.... No man, even of the highest talents, can ever acquire, or at least retain, much influence on the public mind in the character of remonstrant or reformer without the reality, or at any rate the invulnerable reputation, of virtue, in the comprehensive sense of the word, as comprising every kind of morality prescribed by the highest code acknowledged in a Christian nation." In these words John Foster utters a profound truth, which not only bribe-givers need to observe, but which the men who seek to be the leaders of political parties will do well to consider and make practical in their choice of candidates

for the suffrages of the people. Political parties which seek to live by bribery will as surely be destroyed in the end as will the men who make bribery the ladder by which they hope to reach official positions. The moral sense of the people, already quickened, is becoming more acute. The time is therefore coming—is indeed at the door—in which good men will sternly insist on excluding all immorality from their politics, and all immoral men from the offices in their gift.

WESLEY'S ALLEGED RELATION TO THE ANGLO-CATHOLIC MOVEMENT.

Professor G. T. Stokes, in the *Contemporary Review* for August, after a brief portraiture of the character and career of Alexander Knox, an Irish gentleman who greatly admired John Wesley and had frequent correspondence with him, proceeds to show, by a citation from a letter written by Mr. Knox in 1806, that he (Knox) "occupied exactly the position taken up thirty years later by the Oxford tractarians." Mr. Stokes then adds: "For the philosophic student of history the most interesting point is, that he (Knox) himself traces all these mental movements of his to the teaching of John Wesley, so that we should attribute the fatherhood of the Oxford movement not to Hugh James Rose, or Pusey, or Newman—all of whom were mere recipients and transmuters of mental forces evolved before their time—but rather to the great evangelist of the last century; or, to put it in biblical phraseology, Wesley begat Knox, and Knox begat (Bishop) Jebb, and Jebb begat Rose, and Pusey, and Newman. This assertion strikes the casual reader as very strange, because the modern Wesleyans denounce in the strongest language the High Church movement, though they have themselves been most profoundly affected by it. A Wesleyan of Adam Clarke's or Jabez Bunting's day would scarcely recognize in the Gothic chapels and choral services and correct ecclesiastical costume of modern Wesleyanism a vestige of the very plain society in which they ministered. These things are all due to the Oxford movement, and yet it is no unfamiliar phenomenon to see large bodies influenced more by their opponents than by their friends."

Professor Stokes assuredly puts a forced construction on his facts when he sees the "profound" influence of the Oxford movement in the improved chapels and choral singing of the Wesleyan body. Gothic churches are familiar objects to English eyes, and it was natural that, as the pecuniary resources of the Wesleyans increased, they should improve the architecture of their chapels. And as the societies drew more people of higher culture and taste than formerly into their membership, these improved tastes, without profound Oxford influence, would incline some of them to introduce choral and even antiphonal services into their worship. If, therefore, the professor has no stronger evidences of Wesley's paternal relations to the Oxford movement than he gives of the influence

of that movement on the Wesleyan body, his assertions do not rest on very strong foundations.

The facts on which he relies to establish Wesley's fatherhood of the Anglo-Catholic reaction toward Romanism are:

1. That Mr. Knox had embraced the doctrine of justification as set forth by Mr. Wesley in the famous Bristol Minutes of 1770; that in a letter to Mrs. Hannah More in 1807, and in a formal treatise on justification in 1810, Mr. Knox maintained Wesley's theory, and then in 1838 John Henry Newman, in his *Lectures on Justification*, refers to the views of Knox, and quotes him in the Appendix as supporting his (Newman's) views in these words:

> Our being reckoned righteous *coram Deo* always and essentially implies a substance of righteousness previously implanted in us, and reputative justification is the strict and inseparable result of this previous moral justification. I mean that the reckoning us righteous indispensably presupposes an inward reality of righteousness on which this reckoning is founded.

On these facts it is only necessary to observe that Mr. Knox's putting of Wesley's theory is not sustained, either by the Minutes of 1770 or by the "declaration" signed by Wesley and fifty-three of his preachers in 1771, or by his sermon on justification. In neither of these publications did Wesley teach that "the justification of a sinner indispensably presupposes an inward reality of righteousness," on which one's actual justification is founded. This is the doctrine of justification by works which, said Wesley and his preachers in the aforesaid declaration, "We abhor, as a most perilous and abominable doctrine." Again, they said:

> We have no trust or confidence but in the alone merits of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ for justification or salvation, either in life, death, or the day of judgment; and though no one is a real Christian believer (and consequently cannot be saved) who doth not good works where there is time and opportunity, yet our works have no part in meriting or purchasing our salvation (justification) either in whole or in part.

It is obvious, therefore, that Mr. Knox gave an interpretation to Mr. Wesley's theory which that clear-headed man never taught. His theory of good works antecedent to justification only required "works meet for repentance," and was insisted upon to correct the antinomian tendencies of the extreme solifidianism of his day. But Mr. Knox's unintentional misrepresentation of it enabled Mr. Newman to find in it a ground on which to defend his Romish doctrine of "justification by inherent righteousness," and of "faith as a part of that righteousness." If, therefore, it were true that Newman learned his papistical theory from Knox, through Mr. Rose and Bishop Jebb, it is obvious that Knox could not have learned it from Wesley, who never taught it.

2. Professor Stokes lays much stress on Knox's assertion that he learned his High Church views of the sacraments and of the rights of the Christian priesthood from Mr. Wesley. That in the early part of his career Wesley held very high opinions on these questions is not to be disputed. But it is also well known that as early as 1747 he had very greatly modified them.

Stillingfleet's *Irenicum*, Lord King's *Primitive Church*, and the necessities providentially created during the development of his wonderful work, had made him, if not a "Low," yet, as Tyerman puts it, "a very inconsistent Churchman." In the Minutes of 1747 "a national Church is pronounced merely a political institution:" three orders in the ministry, though early introduced, are said to be nowhere enjoined in Holy Scripture; the divine right of episcopacy is denied, and the obligation to obey the rules and governors of the Church is limited to things that "we can do consistently with our duty to God."

Now, it is a fact that Wesley's High Church opinions had been thus modified eighteen years before he formed his first acquaintance with Knox. It is not therefore probable that in his intercourse and correspondence with that gentleman he supported the opinions he had wholly or in part renounced, but those which he avowed in 1747. These latter views, it is true, were never entirely freed from some phases of his former more pronounced High Churchism, but most assuredly the Tractarian movement was not seminally in them, as Professor Stokes claims. Accepted with candor, with Wesley's interpretations of some equivocal phrases, and in the light of his public actions, they could not have justified Mr. Knox in claiming a Wesleyan paternity for those of his own peculiar theological views said to have been so influential in determining the career of Mr. Newman. Mr. Knox was no doubt indebted to Wesley for his Arminianism, for guidance out of the empty formality of a mere churchly piety into a personal spiritual life, and for aid in his struggles to escape from his mental tendency to overmuch self-introspection. His affection for Wesley appears to have led him to read whatever Wesley had written, and to absorb those of his ideas most congenial to his own modes of thinking, and chiefly those which his spiritual father had either renounced or modified. Yet they entered into the thought of Mr. Knox, and gave color to all his subsequent theological and ecclesiastical conceptions. Thus, without intending to be unjust to the great divine he so truly loved and greatly admired, he wrongly attributed to him opinions that were begotten partly by Wesley's early teachings, and partly by his own wide reading and his own meditations through the years of his long-continued invalidism.

By similar omissions to view Wesley's opinions of the sacraments and of the priestly office in the light of his modifying statements and his practice, Knox claimed support for the doctrines on sacramental grace contained in his "Remains" and also in his son's correspondence with Bishop Jebb. As Mr. Moore observes in his remarks on Wesley's sermon on "the ministerial office," Wesley's love to the "Church" frequently "led him a little too far." He leaned too much toward the Church, and therefore sometimes appeared less consistent with himself than, when properly understood, he really was. It was easy, therefore, for Mr. Knox to find apparent evidence that his own views, which Newman cited approvingly, were identical with those of Wesley. In point of fact there was nothing in the strongest utterances of Wesley on sacramental questions so differing from those of

other High Churchmen, nothing so idiosyncratic, as to furnish grounds for a special "affiliation of thought," connecting him with Newman and the other Tractarians. On the contrary, Wesley's teaching, taken as a whole, was utterly at variance with the root-thoughts of those gentlemen. In their view the "Church was too sacred to be touched by the heads of the secular authority:" in Wesley's estimation a national Church was "a political institution." They aimed to revive the doctrine of apostolical succession: Wesley said: "I deny that the Romish bishops came down by uninterrupted succession from the apostles. I never could see it proved, and I am persuaded I never shall." They claimed that the "deposit of faith" was given to the bishops; Wesley claimed that the Scriptures contain that precious deposit. They insisted that the Bible was an unsafe book unless interpreted by the Fathers; but Wesley gloried in being "a man of one book," and taught all men to test their faith by Holy Scripture. They taught that the human soul was fed from without, by supernatural influences lodged in the episcopate and conveyed to the people through a priesthood receiving its divine consecration in the sacrament of ordination, but Wesley held that the soul is fed directly by the indwelling Spirit through the truth proclaimed by men, ordained or unordained, but moved by the Holy Ghost to preach the Gospel. Finally, the Tractarians insisted that the spiritual needs of humanity are to be supplied through a divinely ordered apostolical succession, baptismal regeneration, and sacramental grace. But Wesley, while not wholly denying—perhaps conceding too much to the doctrine of sacramental grace—taught men to look for pentecostal effusions of the Holy Spirit. Seeing, therefore, that Wesley differed so fundamentally from the Tractarians, does it not appear absurd to affirm that he was, in any logical sense, the father of their movement?

What, then, is the value of Professor Stokes's statement that the opinions which Alexander Knox attributed to Mr. Wesley's teaching wrought certain changes in the theories of Bishop Jebb and H. J. Rose, and, through them, in the views of Mr. Newman? It is admitted that Newman, Pusey, and other tractarians cited Knox, which proves that they had read Jebb's correspondence and the "Remains" of Knox, and that, finding support in them for their theories, they had made citations from them after the manner of all controversial writers. But this does not prove that they derived their special theories from that source. That they found confirmation of them there does not prove that the theories themselves were begotten by either Jebb or Knox. If, therefore, it be admitted—which it is not—that Knox fairly expressed Wesley's ideas, it does not follow that the Tractarian dogmas were the children of Wesley's thought. Their parentage must be looked for elsewhere.

Moreover, it is by no means historically clear that either Jebb or Rose had such intimate relations to the birth of Tractarianism as Professor Stokes claims. Rose was not, indeed, closely intimate with Newman, and it was Keble, not Newman, who was the original Tractarian, albeit Newman's greater force of character soon gave him the leadership of the movement.

It is tolerably certain, however, that Keble, Newman, Pusey, and Froude were all more or less moved by as much of the spirit of the Methodistic revival as had found its way into the Church, and had been the life of its evangelical party, but which, after doing a good work within it and in the nation generally, had well-nigh exhausted its force. Organized Wesleyanism, which was still vigorous in every part of England, no doubt also contributed largely to the serious spirit which animated them. Possibly the spiritual tone of the writings of Knox deepened their seriousness. But neither Wesleyanism nor its great founder can be made responsible for the papistical dogmas they embraced. As Newman shows in his *Apologia*, it was primarily the influence of Keble and Hurrell Froude that turned him in the direction of his destiny. Next came his readings in the patristic Latin theology. Political movements, culminating in the suppression of the Irish bishoprics, added fuel to the already burning flame. The preparation of tracts "to circulate right notions on apostolical succession" gave intenser impulse to his mind, until, step by step, he advanced to the portals of the Romish Church, seeking repose from his doubts in her authority. These influences, and not Knox's versions of Wesley's alleged sacramentalism, were, therefore, the roots of the Anglo-Catholic dogmas and of the agitation which culminated in the perversion of many Churchmen to the mediæval doctrines and worship of the Romish Church.

AN UNPRECEDENTED FACT IN MODERN MISSIONARY HISTORY.

That there are in America and England, as is currently reported, more than a thousand young men, mostly students, asking the Churches to send them into the ripening fields of waning heathenism, is a fact hitherto unprecedented in modern missionary history. That the missionary contributions of the Churches are insufficient to send these young evangelists into the dark places of the earth is discreditable to our Protestantism, which, if its benevolence were proportionate to its resources, would promptly furnish means necessary to send these candidates to the millions whose needs, if not their words, are loudly crying to the Churches, "Come over and help us!" But while these young men are waiting to hear what reply the Churches will give to their request, no lover of the missionary enterprise will refuse, at least, to consider the significance of their demand and the possibility of giving it an affirmative response.

As to its significance one may very naturally inquire, From what does it arise? Is it an impulse derived from the spirit of the times or from the Holy Spirit? There is in modern society a growing passion for extensive travel into distant lands. Many are becoming cosmopolitan in their sympathies. The writings of explorers and travelers have filled the imaginations of men with strange imagery, and begotten strong curiosity to see the things of which they have read. There is also in the Churches a very

general missionary enthusiasm, a spirit of Christian propagandism, which is apt to beget in youthful minds a sentimental interest in missionary work which, not being rooted in real love for Christ and humanity, is sure to be evanescent and unfruitful of self-denying work. It is not unbecoming, therefore, to ask if this impulse, so simultaneously developed in so many young men on both sides of the Atlantic, is born of this enthusiasm and of the spirit of society, or is it the product of the silent operation of the Holy Ghost, transforming their knowledge of the needs of the world into convictions of duty? Of course, this is a problem that only the Searcher of hearts can authoritatively solve. But seeing that these young men are, many of them, theological students, having tolerably full knowledge of the toils, self-denials, trials, and very moderate support inseparable from missionary service, one may reasonably conclude that not mere sentiment, or desire to see foreign lands, or superficial enthusiasm, but the motions of the Spirit of Jesus are the root of their request to be sent to distant parts to preach the Gospel of life to dying men. Viewed thus, is not their call also a call to the Churches? If Christ is bidding them "go," is he not at the same time bidding his Church to send them?

But how is this to be done? It cannot be done at all unless the Churches become more fully awake to their responsibility, to their obligation to "go up at once and possess" the world for their Lord. This obligation, profoundly recognized, would so inspire their love to Christ and to humanity as to cause them to pour into the treasury of their respective missionary societies the money necessary to put as many of these heroic young men as may be deemed competent into the lands of the spiritually destitute.

The missionary editor of the *Homiletic Review*, apparently doubting the possibility of doing this through existing agencies, remarks that "there is a wide-spread feeling that the only solution is, that *individual churches shall have their own fields and missionaries.*"

Nothing but stern necessity will dispose a general to take new positions for his army when in the midst of a great battle. Yet this is substantially what the above cited remark suggests to the Churches, which are in the thick of a great battle with the evil one for the possession of the world. Their method of doing foreign missionary work, through organized societies having power to receive and disburse their gifts and to arrange for the employment, distribution, location, and supervision of their respective missionaries, has hitherto been, and still is, marvelously successful, all things considered. The proposal is for individual churches to act independently of these organizations. Of course none but large, wealthy churches could do this, because only such could annually raise money sufficient to support a missionary and meet the incidental expenses of his mission. In doing this they would naturally, if not necessarily, cease to support their respective missionary societies, and thereby greatly reduce their incomes and cripple their work. Moreover, the success of the plan is more than problematical. Even in the selection of its missionary, prepossessions arising out of local sympathies might often cause a church

to lay its hand on an indiscreet candidate. Its choice of a field for him, in the absence of the full information possessed by organized boards, would have to be determined mainly by the missionary's judgment or by the caprice of large donors. Its supervision of his work could be merely nominal, and in case he met with little success the zeal of his supporters would be very likely to cool and give place to discouragement and indifference. Besides these embarrassments, the location of missions by individual churches would not always be governed by plans judiciously formed for the proper occupation of a particular territory, as it may be by boards familiar through much correspondence with the needs of a country and its occupation by other churches. Other objections lie against this suggested change, unless, indeed, its author means nothing more than that individual churches shall pledge themselves to become responsible for the support of a missionary in some designated field under the control of the organized board with which it is denominationally associated. To this no serious objections can, perhaps, be made; and it might lead in many instances to large increase of missionary contributions by wealthy churches. Meantime, it is better to reply to the request of the thousand heroic young men who are eager to enter the growing army of missionaries by pouring a flowing tide of gifts into the treasuries of existing boards. In our own Church, "a million from collections alone" this fiscal year will be a fair beginning, and will open a door for some of these waiting candidates. Next year, it is to be hoped, will be still more fruitful in gifts to our missionary treasury. The fields are ripening. The harvest time is at hand. The reapers are ready. It is for the Church to furnish means to place them amidst the ripening grain.

FOREIGN, RELIGIOUS AND LITERARY.

THE RUSSIANS IN ABYSSINIA.—The Russians have of late taken a strange fancy to the Abyssinians. About three years ago they sent thither an expedition of forty so-called "Free Cossacks" under the guidance of an intelligent leader, who has not been idle. A scientist accompanied the party, who has lately made a report of his experience to the Imperial Russian Geographical Society, that contains much interesting information regarding the inhabitants which has hitherto been confined to the Russian journals.

It were more satisfactory if this gentleman had given us some hint as to the object of the expedition, for an object there undoubtedly was, but we are left to suppose that it was merely a desire of the Free Cossacks to see a foreign land and become acquainted with a people whom they regard as their brothers in faith. We are informed that these Free Cossacks consider themselves Russians, though they owe no direct obligations to the Russian realm. They live in Asia Minor, on the banks of the Euphrates.

This little troop of Cossacks consisted originally of fifteen men, but it was on the way increased to twenty-five. They took ship at Odessa, and traveled *via* Alexandria and Suez; and on passing through the English and Italian custom-houses reported themselves as merchants traveling to India. In the fall of 1885 they reached Abyssinia with a heavy stock of Russian wares and fire-arms. The Abyssinians show but little hospitality to any body, and least of all to Europeans, but the Russians were received with open arms and hospitably entertained. At the residence of the Viceroy they had a triumphal entry, which they reciprocated by giving to the official and his subordinates handsome presents. After ten days of junketing the party proceeded to King John, who received them cordially and with great pomp.

The expedition remained eight months in Abyssinia, had free entrance every-where, and were treated as brothers by the people. These Abyssinians hate the Moslems, and are at continual war with them, and have quite as little love for any thing from Europe; hence the failure of the Catholic as well as of the English missions. Apart from the Russians the Abyssinians sympathize only with the Greeks, because from these they have their religion. Their social and civil life is very patriarchal. The population is divided into castes, but their way of life is not very different. The people are poor, and in a very low scale, engaging principally in agriculture and the raising of cattle. They have but little trade, and their income consists mainly of the booty of war. Thanks to a favorable climate, they need but little; they live mainly in tents, and even the king goes generally barefoot. The people are very ignorant of religious matters, and their priests are destitute of any religious culture; their strongest hold on the people is the fact that they live by the labor of their hands, and thus require no support. Now when this story is told it needs no very penetrating intelligence to perceive that the bond between the Russians and the Abyssinians is that of their religion; and through this, and generous patronage, the Russians propose gaining on the Red Sea that foothold that England and Italy need to fight for.

THE GERMANS ARE NOW IN ITALY engaged in mission work. The pastors recently met in Naples to compare notes in regard to their fields of labor, and Pastor Wessel, from Florence, described the character of the Lenten sermons of the famous city as preached by one of the most brilliant orators of the Romish Church. The great cathedral was filled with listeners, who applauded the striking passages by the clapping of hands. Each sermon was stenographed and printed in the daily journals, meeting with a large sale. The pastor divides these sermons into two classes, the one Rationalistic, and the other Catholic; the former treated of the existence of God, of religion, suffering, etc.; the latter of purgatory, the Virgin Mary, and so on.

Père Agostino is a Franciscan monk of great eloquence, and perfectly acquainted with the Italian character. He does not hesitate to quote Bossuet, and even Naville and Bersier, of the French Protestant Church.

His sermons were the talk of Florence—a fact that proves that in the Romish churches there is a strong demand for the living word. Agostino seldom took a Bible text, but frequently quoted Dante, Cicero, and other illustrious men. Several of his Catholic sermons called forth replies from the Protestant workers, and these were numerously attended. The evangelical teachers tried through these means to stir up the religious enthusiasm of the people; it remains to be seen whether the effort has planted any living germs.

Pastor Tredc, of Naples, spoke of the images and the image worship of southern Italy in the field of the Roman Catholic Church. He regards the creations with brush and chisel from the first century down to the present period as rare illustrations of church history, showing every-where in color and in stone the words of the Church, and its deep fall from Bible truths into heathendom.

There is also in Naples a French Protestant congregation, with Pastor Tissot, formerly from St. Gall, in Switzerland. In Italy the Germans and the French make out to meet on the same Christian platform, and the French missionary gave an interesting account of his work in the French congregation over which he had presided. This movement on the part of the French and German Protestants to enter Italy is quite gratifying, though it is a little peculiar. It is not, as ours, so much a mission to the Italian people as it is on the part of the Germans and the French an effort to look after their lost sheep; namely, their own countrymen in a distant land. These are apt to stray from every fold in a Catholic country, where they can never hear the Gospel in their own faith unless from the mouth of the missionary.

The Reformed Church of France recently held a private or non-official synod in one of the old Protestant strongholds, because the government still declines, through fear of excitement or under the influence of the radical element, to grant the official General Synod. The French Protestants did well in making this demonstration, and showing what the genuine Reformed Church is doing.

They reported 414 congregations as represented in this body by 475 pastors; there were also present delegates from Geneva, Neufchatel, the Vaud in Switzerland, as well as from Belgium, England and Scotland, all desirous of showing to their brethren in France a proof of the community of faith and spirit. The discussions on the occasion passed off in great harmony and peace. One of the most important questions was that of the theological faculty of Montauban. A few months ago the Minister of Public Worship sent to said faculty a young teacher of philosophy without saying as much as "By your leave," and the affair caused quite an excitement, as the Church is not willing to yield its right of nomination. The synod took very energetic measures to insure the appointment of the teacher of positive faith, whom they had recommended by a two-thirds vote.

For some years this non-official synod has granted to orthodox theolog-

ical students certain stipends to aid them in their studies. This good work they agree to continue in increased measure, and a committee of three of the faculty was appointed to decide on the sum to be raised. Last year about 40,000 francs were applied in this line. The synod also adopted a formula for the ordination of their candidates, and resolved to accept none who will not accept it. This is a very important measure, as it draws still more clearly the line that divides the Orthodox from the Liberals.

This evangelical wing of the Reformed Church looks forward with calmness and confidence to the near approach of a separation of Church from State, when the former will be thrown entirely on its own resources. To prepare for this event they collected in a few days about 100,000 francs. This is a very fine beginning, which encourages them to great hopes for the future. The financial status of the synod is in the main quite satisfactory, for the sum of 50,000 francs signed by the members of the first synod, in 1881, has now risen to 84,000. The theological preparatory school, founded six years ago in Journon, has in this short time prepared about thirty students, and thus supplements the school in Paris at Batignolles.

In the matter of divorce the synod took a positive stand; namely, that the indissoluble character of the marriage tie, except in the case of adultery, is proclaimed by the Lord himself, and, in view of the purely civil character of French legislation, the Church may deny the consecration without affecting the legality of the marriage bond. Therefore the pastors are admonished to exert all their influence to prevent divorces; and the power is granted to each individual pastor to deny the consecration of a new marriage to divorced persons, no matter for what cause the divorce may have been granted. In conclusion, the synod resolved to celebrate the 17th of November of the current year as the centennial anniversary of the famous "Edict of Toleration" of 1787, by which the Protestants acquired a legal civil status.

The Vatican has been very active of late in the line of advancing Italian art for use and exhibition at the coming papal jubilee. The high honor conferred by Bismarck on the pope, in making him the arbiter between Spain and Germany in the matter of the Caroline Islands, was made to do full civil duty in its time, but it is now revived with another aim. A medal commemorative of the event has been struck, which bears on its face a portrait of the holy pontiff. On the obverse appear three allegorical figures: the Curia in the center, with Germany on one side and Spain on the other, arched with the superscription, "The promoter and founder of peace."

There is to be a Vatican Exposition at the papal jubilee, the proprietors of which will doubtless do a good business. A Spanish artist is to exhibit a bas-relief which will relate to posterity one of the greatest deeds of the "Pope of Providence," namely, his peace-bringing intermediation between Spain and Germany. In this work the pope stands between Bismarck and Canovas, the Spanish minister, while above the group the

Emperor William and the Spanish king are clasping hands; but below is seen a group of Capuchin monks who are departing to bear the light of the gospel to the Caroline Islands.

But still further, in the line of Italian art, we may mention that a speculative photographer in Rome has multiplied the portrait by the Roman painter Pacelli of the pope kneeling before a portrait of the Madonna, presenting to her a rosary with prayer. After the present pope blessed the late Luther centennial year with his rosary breviary, in which he offered full indulgence for sin for 1,500 Ave Marias and 150 Lord's Prayers, it is not surprising that a painter was inspired to depict the scene. But it was necessary for the pope to see this work of art and bless the maker of the photographs. This purpose was obtained through the good offices of the Cardinal-vicar, who induced the pontiff to inspect the picture and give it his blessing as a means of cultivating the adoration of the rosary in Catholic families. The unlimited lord of the Catholic conscience deigned to examine the pious creation of the artist, express his full satisfaction with the execution, and accord to it his blessing. All this according to the report of the court journal of the Vatican, the *Osservatore Romano.* And all this, we observe, with a view to secure for it a large circulation and an immense sale, to the profit not of the artist alone by any means. The above organ also gives the picture a mercantile puff by praising the accurate likeness not only of the great pontifex, but of the man of God whose prayers avert the wrath of God.

In Scandinavian lands, where one would least expect it, the crime of unchastity is largely on the increase, so that public attention is being called to it, and Christian men are in council as to the best means of stemming the tide of impurity. By common consent it is acknowledged that the great incentive to this vice is given by the immoral literature of the day. In Denmark the social democracy is openly preaching the doctrine of free love, and has become so insanely mad in its pool of filth as to demand text-books in the schools regarding the laws of sexual intercourse. In Sweden a certain "naturalist" has carried his theories so far that the director of a gymnasium in Stockholm has found it necessary to issue an earnest admonition to parents and teachers concerning such books in the hands of youth. He complains bitterly of the immorality of the pupils, and attributes it largely to the teaching of this vile "gospel of the flesh," as these malefactors call their doctrine. Said teacher assumes it to be a duty of the State to take up the sword in this conflict against this moral life of the nation. Norway has also a number of such "naturalists" to curse its youth, who make it a business to trample under foot all feeling of moral purity. There the State has already interfered and seized some of the filthy publications, and public opinion is divided for or against this measure. The current just now seems in favor of common decency, and a protective association has been formed containing hundreds of students. This society aims at enforcing purity for men as well as women, and is now engaged in circulating tracts against impurity in both sexes.

In Brazil the Protestant Germans have succeeded in establishing a regular synod, at which their hearts are much rejoiced. There is a large German emigration to certain parts of Brazil, and they settled there on the condition of full liberty in their faith, and this has been loyally accorded to them by the liberal Emperor Dom Pedro. They have at last grown strong and enthusiastic enough to have a common reunion, which bears the name of the "Synod of the Rio Grande." After the usual opening with divine service they began the discussion of a list of subjects of prime importance to them in their new home.

They presented a living picture of the difference between a synod that is convened, as in the fatherland, under the rule of the government, and one that is fully free in all its actions. *Pro forma* synods affect the clergy for a little while, and then all is still again; but this synod was called at the request of the laity of the Church, who had a good deal of interest in the matter, and desired to express their opinions as to many things in the management of the churches, of which there are now twenty-five in Brazil. The matter of synod or no synod was put to vote in the congregations, and a large majority expressed themselves as favorable to the measure. This action insured sympathy and attention, and carried the discussion of many questions into the separate churches. At first there was suspicion, to which came the explanation; then came questions, and these were followed by answers; so that gradually all eyes were opened and all hearts awakened. And on the last Sunday before the pastors left for the synod, the meeting of the people was larger than ever before, on account of their interest in the new movement. The German emigration to Brazil has been very large, and there bids fair to be a large German province in that country, as they settle closely and remain together.

Leipzig seems to be the head-quarters of the friends of Jewish missions in Germany, and these workers recently met in council for their labors. In view of the coolness with which the Jews themselves welcome these efforts for their welfare, it is quite creditable to the many Christians interested in them that they work on without discouragement in the desire to make one flock and one Shepherd.

There was a period when the people of Israel were themselves engaged in a species of mission work. When the more enlightened of the heathen began to tire of their idolatrous faith, and seek to come nearer to some sympathizing divinity, then the more intelligent Jews sent messengers to them to teach them the nothingness of their idol-worship, and the loftiness of divine revelation over all the wisdom of the wisest of men. And of Hillel it is related with what gentleness and wisdom he sought to win them for Judaism. Wherever there were synagogues there was collected a circle of heathen, of whom many worshiped the God of Israel. Even in Rome some from the highest classes turned from idolatry to the Jews. But when the Christians began the mission work the Jews ceased theirs. It is not very clear why. Perhaps because it was in many lands forbidden; but this prohibition did not deter Christians from the work. The real

truth was doubtless because the Jews had no longer a mission to the world; for the revelation which was first intrusted to Israel found its completion in Christianity, and Judaism, which separated from it, lost its proud vocation. Judaism was to bring to the world truth, justice, and peace, but Christianity brings still more, for the Christian faith proclaims a peace founded on Jesus, whom the Jews rejected. It were a brilliant victory for Christianity to bring even the Jews into this truce with God, and it is gratifying to see so many engaged in this work of but little promise.

SOUTHERN GERMANY seems at present to be the arena of quite a raid against Protestantism. A Catholic journal comes to the front in this matter, urging the faithful on in their attacks on heresy. The teachings of the Encyclical of Pope Leo XIII. are clearly seen in its ebullitions of spleen and wrath; for instance:

> What is good among Protestants is Catholic, and what is not Catholic is bad. . . . It is the best of the Protestants that come over to the Romish Church, while from the Catholic only the worst elements go over to Protestantism. . . . The doctrine of Protestantism is abominable in theory and immoral in practice; it is vicious in respect to God and men, injurious to society, and in violation of plain common sense. . . . You must hate Protestantism with all your heart, and if you meet Protestants among your friends, companions, or neighbors, you must do what the ancient Christians did in Rome when they came in contact with Protestants—as far as possible they avoided them.

In short, these "pestilential sects" are the mother of nihilism, anarchism, and all that is dangerous in the State and Church and immoral in society.

IN FRANCE the elementary school system is being largely developed, both by the State and the Church. The latest official report tells about this story: There are 35,000 schools, with 5,500,000 pupils. Of these, on the day when the statistics were taken, there were 88 per cent. of the scholars present in the schools. These are not all public schools; over 13,000 of them are private. Of the public schools 10,000 are taught by clerical teachers. Of the private schools 4,000 are in the hands of the laity, and 9,000 in the hands of the congregations or orders. In the entire elementary school system 142,000 persons are employed. Of these 3,000 are "Christian brothers," and over 14,000 the so-called "sisters." This would seem to be in violation of the law that all public schools must have secular teachers. But in certain sections these cannot be procured, or in some way, in spite of the law, in certain communities, the members of the orders succeed in getting the control of the schools, and hold it with a pertinacity that is backed by the will of a population that is in the hands of the priest. A great many so-called "free schools" are in the hands of clerical teachers who run an active opposition to the state or secular schools.

BELGIUM is becoming quite alarmed at the increased use of intoxicating liquors and the already very palpable results. The matter was recently brought before the Parliament in a discussion on the means of checking

this fearful and expensive vice. During the last thirty years the thirst for drink has increased in a ratio double that of the increase of the population, and the use of gin has largely gained on that of beer. Twenty-five years ago nine liters of gin were drank where now thirteen are consumed. Belgium spends yearly about sixty-five millions of francs for intoxicating drinks, of which the working classes pay more than the half.

Cases occur frequently in which the working-men let their wives and children starve that they may gratify their inordinate passion for liquor. The result is clearly seen in the growing disorder of family life, and the inclination of the rising generation to all kinds of criminal excesses. The Belgian criminal records attest that three fourths of all crime may be traced to strong drink. The social misery of Belgium would never have reached so alarming a point if the pest of rum were not so prevalent. The general result is, that no nation in Europe is now so tormented by all sorts of industrial disorder, and with such a general inclination on the part of high and low to cultivate private and public scandal.

French Missions seem to be growing at an encouraging rate. Sixty-four years ago the Reformed Church of France resolved to have a mission house for their new society in the capital, but nothing was done in the matter of any import until quite recently, when a new impulse to mission work seemed to arise, and this house is a fixed fact owing to the untiring zeal of Dr. Gustave Monod. Last spring the building, which is on the Boulevard Arago, and cost 238,000 francs, was dedicated with a very small debt; and in spite of this strain on their finances the friends of missions in France and French Switzerland succeeded in wiping out the deficit of last year, which was about 62,000 francs.

Besides that sum about 20,000 francs were raised for the Congo Mission; and that on the Zambesi is now being aided. At present there is a still hunt among the French pastors for some one well calculated to start another mission on the Congo. The Paris Mission of the Protestants is now working in four fields: in South Africa, among the Bassutos, with fifteen stations and nineteen missionaries; on the Zambesi, with five; and on the Senegal, with three missionaries. They have also a station with five missionaries in Tahiti. The French Protestants are thus doing good work.

The Hollanders have lately had quite a tussle with the king in the matter of public education. His majesty seems to want to control the matter in his own rather conservative way, while the Liberals desire, of course, to have matters in their own style. The affair caused quite a struggle on the floor of Parliament, and the Conservatives carried the day by a small majority. The difference was settled thus: The royal authorities regulate the different grades of instruction, and investigate the capacity and moral character of teachers, and the king renders to the Parliament a regular annual report-progress. Looking behind the scenes, we judge the trouble to be a fear on the part of the king of too much med-

dling on the part of the revolutionary party with the education of the young, and the final result has been obtained by a coalition of the Clerical and the anti-revolutionary Liberals.

DENMARK has been learning some strange facts while endeavoring to settle the question of pensions for the preachers of the State Church. There are now two hundred and four pensioned ministers in the State, and the average year of cessation of activity is sixty-nine. The investigation led to the discovery that while the ministers are at work their rate of mortality is less than that of any other class, but after they are pensioned, their death-rate is greater than that of any other class of the same age. In the first year after retirement their mortality is about as that of other pensioned officials, but still a little greater than that of active preachers. Then a great increase is observable, especially in the second and third years; while in the fourth year a normal status obtains. An *emeritus* minister in Denmark lives, on an average, after his retirement, nine years.

BERLIN is paying a heavy penalty for the honor of becoming the capital of the great Empire of Germany. The city is not only fast becoming a much dearer place to live in for all classes, and especially for the working-men and the widows and their children, but the statistics of all the vices are growing in alarming proportions. The social democracy is teaching its lessons with fearful effect; there is a veritable festering of the lowest vices that presents an alarming perspective for the future. The fearful social ulcer of prostitution is now demanding the attention of the city authorities, who seem quite baffled as to the means of stemming the tide of its growth. How to combat the evil is the great question. Some would endeavor to control it, at least, by official trammels; while others believe in moral suasion through the schools, the churches, and the press. But all are awake to the need of doing something.

THE UNIVERSITY OF LEIPZIG is running a well contested race with that of Berlin. This latter city, in becoming a political capital, found it for a while, at least, not so easy to keep up the controlling character of its great school, and in the meanwhile Leipzig leaped ahead. Then Berlin plied the oars with greater energy and again took the lead, which she just now holds. The last report from Leipzig was over 3,100 students, and more than half of these not native Saxons. From the German Empire at large were 2,835, from the remaining European states 170, and 49 from non-European states. The theological, judicial, and medical faculties are on the increase, while the philosophical faculty is declining. The theological department indeed now leads all others, we think, in Germany—there were 639 enrolled in it last year. The university at large is growing in the foreign attendance, and is becoming also a favorite place for Americans.

MISSIONARY INTELLIGENCE.

THE MISSIONS OF THE AMERICAN BAPTIST UNION.—The success of the American Baptist Missionary Union, which is the foreign board of perhaps 600,000 or 700,000 Baptists in the Northern and Western States, and the second oldest foreign missionary society in this country, has been quite remarkable. Its first field was Burmah, where it has planted a vigorous, intelligent, and self-supporting Christianity, which, with its admirable system of schools and its missionary spirit, is making constant inroads on heathenism. Since Upper Burmah was opened to the world by the overthrow of King Thebaw and his atrocious government, the Union has been sending missionaries into that kingdom, to open centers of gospel influence among a benighted people. The Union has also a very strong mission in India, among the Telugus, thousands of whom were gathered in during the remarkable awakening in South India some years ago. Besides these missions the Union has others in Assam and Siam, China, Japan, Africa (in Liberia and on the Congo), and in Europe.

The European missions are in Sweden, Germany, France, Spain, and Greece, and their totals in membership foot up more than the Asiatic and African missions. In Sweden and Germany the work may be said to have passed the missionary stage. There are regular churches, ordained ministers, and associations of churches and ministers. In Sweden alone there are 460 churches, a gain of 26 the past year, 483 preachers, and 31,064 members. In Germany there are more members (33,451) but fewer churches and ministers. The latter number 450, of whom 300 are unordained, and the churches count up to 168 only. The work of the year was very successful, if we may judge from the fact that there were 3,473 baptisms in Sweden, and 2,530 in Germany. Doubtless not a few of the members in both countries find their way to the United States yearly in the stream of immigration. Indeed, it is stated in the statistical report of Sweden that 335 "emigrated to America." An effort is being made to reach the Finns, of whom there are about two millions, and who are said to be in a state of dense darkness spiritually. They seem anxious, says a missionary, to know the truth and be saved, but are in a lamentable state of ignorance. The amount of contributions in Sweden last year was $79,187. The appropriations of the Union for salaries for four ordained missionaries and for teachers and evangelists was $5,700. It also gave $2,000 to the theological seminary at Stockholm.

Germany received $5,628 from the Union, raising among its own churches 395,600 marks, or $98,900. The German Baptist Union, consisting of thirteen associations, embraces, it is to be noted, churches or missions in Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Holland, Russia, Roumania, Bulgaria, Denmark, and Africa. The mission was begun, as every body knows, in Germany by Johan Gerhard Oncken, a German who married and settled in England and became an Independent. Traveling in Lower

Saxony, as an agent of a Bible and a tract society, he organized a Baptist church in that kingdom and became its pastor. This was in 1834. Next year he was appointed missionary of what is now the American Baptist Missionary Union, and he went all over Germany and Denmark preaching and baptizing. From this beginning have sprung all the churches and missions in connection with the German Baptist Union. There is an association in Austria embracing 5 churches, 62 stations, and 930 members; one among the Poles, with 8 churches, 52 stations, and 2,624 members; two in Russia, with a total of 18 churches, 183 stations, and 5,026 members; one on the Baltic with 4 churches, 9 stations, and 1,206 members; one in Denmark, with 22 churches, 101 stations, and 2,181 members; and one in South Africa, with 3 churches, 16 stations, and 676 members. It is a significant fact that of the 395,600 marks contributed by the churches of the German Baptist Union last year 122,500 came from the churches outside of Germany. Just now the great need is said to be church buildings, and the churches in Warsaw, St. Petersburg, and Buda-Pesth are especially anxious on this point.

To return to the Asiatic missions of the American Baptist Union, we notice that of the 58,108 members which are returned from the Asiatic and African missions 26,574 are in Burmah and Siam, showing an increase for the year of a little over 700. To the list of stations is added that of Mandalay, the capital of Upper Burmah. Bhamo, a station which has been occupied two or three years, is also in Upper Burmah. A special difficulty in the work in Burmah is the fact of the division of the population in language and race characteristics, requiring distinct missions to the Burmans, the Karens, the Shans, the Kachins, and the Chins. And these separate missions are to be found in the same territory, in the same towns and cities. In Henthada, for example, there is a Burman, a Karen and a Chin department; and the Karens are sometimes divided into the Red-Karen, Bghai-Karen, and Paku-Karen departments, and there are still other varieties of Karens. The great majority of the members in Burmah are Karens, who are an inferior people and were formerly slaves to the Burmans. The number of the latter who have become Christians is comparatively insignificant, scarcely reaching 1,000. The total of baptisms in Burmah last year was 1,794. The appropriations from the Union aggregated about $100,000, to which the mission added about $35,000 for churches, schools, and general benevolence. The missionary force is 107, and the number of ordained and unordained ministers 513. Of the 510 churches, 310 are reported as self-supporting. In the 7 stations in Assam are 1,922 members, gathered in 30 churches, of which four are self-sustaining. The field in India is among the Telugus. This was for many years a fruitless mission, and so hopeless did it seem that the Union was minded at one time to withdraw from it; but it now reports more members than the Burmah mission, and it was the most fruitful mission last year in the list of the Union, returning 1,000 of the 1,668 net gain of all the missions. The center of this field is Ongole, and this curious circumstance is given in the report for the year. Cholera broke out in Ongole, and a panic ensued. Many of

the heathen fled, only to die of the disease in their flight, and those who remained called frantically on their gods to save them. The Christians met quietly in their places of worship and prayed the prayer of faith to the only true God, and not one of them, nor any member of their families, took the disease. Connected with the station are thirty-eight preachers, most of whom itinerate and superintend the workers in surrounding villages. They report at a meeting in Ongole every quarter. Of the 51 churches among the Telugus only one is self-supporting.

The mission in China reports 1,516 members in 18 churches, of which 4 are self-supporting. There are 519 members in Japan, with 13 churches, only one of which pays its own expenses.

The African mission is yet in its infancy. A few years ago the mission received the Congo mission from the Livingstone Inland Mission, an undenominational organization which had its head-quarters in Cardiff, Wales. There are now seven stations on the Congo, one being at Stanley Pool and one at the equator, above the Pool. The history of the year is thus given in the report:

> The past year has been one of marked interest in the mission on the Congo. For several years much faithful and patient work had been done in acquiring the language, in translating hymns and portions of Scripture, and in preaching the Gospel to the people as opportunity offered, but without large apparent results. In August, 1886, a remarkable movement manifested itself among the Congo people, who began to throw away their fetich idols, and to profess the religion of Jesus Christ. The interest centered at Banza Manteke, where, in the course of a few weeks, one thousand and sixty-two professed themselves followers of Christ; but the tide of feeling overflowed to other stations of our own mission, and to those of other missions.
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> The first Christian church in the Congo Free State was organized Nov. 21, 1886, at Banza Manteke, of forty-two members. The missionaries have been very cautious in receiving candidates for baptism; but, up to the last advices, ninety-seven had been baptized at four stations, and others will be received from month to month, as the brethren are able to satisfy themselves that their faith is sufficiently intelligent to enable them to adorn their profession as members of the body of Christ. There is an encouraging interest at all the stations; and especially at Banza Manteke the missionaries are tasked to their utmost in the work which presses upon them of training the Christians, teaching inquirers and providing for the innumerable demands of the new work which has suddenly assumed such hopeful proportions.

The Missionary Union, summing up the result of its efforts for upward of threescore and ten years, has, as now appears, a total of 125,530 members in its mission fields, who are gathered in 1,265 churches and ministered to by 1,730 preachers; and the total of baptisms last year in connection with these missions was 9,342. The income of the Union from all sources was $406,639.

Disturbances in the Pacific Islands.—The islands of the Pacific seem to be having a good deal of trouble just now, from one cause or another; and the missions, which have made these islands what they are, have had a hard time of it, in most cases. We have already described the persecutions in Tonga, which well-nigh destroyed the native Wesleyan Church in that island, and brought the people to the verge of a civil

war. Since our September number was made up a revolution in the Sandwich Islands has occurred, which has driven King Kalakaua, who had been carrying it with a high and extravagant hand over the Hawaiians, to the acceptance of a constitutional government. This change is interpreted as favorable to the mission interests in this group, though it is possible that Kalakaua's powers have only been curtailed that an uncrowned tyrant may hold the rod of oppression over the people's heads. The churches had been compromised by the king's political schemes, through their deacons, who had been used much as old King George used some of the Christian men of Tonga. The revolution has, the missionaries say, released the churches from this degrading bondage and left them free to engage in their legitimate work. It is proposed now to re-organize them in order that their efficiency may be increased.

For many years the Presbyterians have been patiently at work among the savages of the New Hebrides, slowly but thoroughly Christianizing and civilizing them. Some of the islands have been entirely wrested from heathenism. One of the faithful pioneer missionaries, Dr. Geddie, who passed away after years of successful toil, has a monument to his memory, with an inscription which runs like this: "When he came to us there were no Christians; when he left us there were no heathen." On this group of islands France has been casting covetous glances. She wants to annex it, and negotiations are now pending with England having this object in view. France desires the consent of England to annexation, which England does not feel inclined to give. The feeling in Australia is very strong against French occupation; so strong, indeed, that the home government is warned that serious consequences will follow if it gives way to French pressure. A prominent Australian, in a letter to the London *Times*, says:

> He would be a bold minister who would resolve on repeating Lord Derby's risky experiment, for, in doing so, he would be plainly precipitating a crisis between the colonies and the mother country. The fact is, and the sooner it is practically recognized the better, that the Australians are the people whose interests and sentiments must be considered first and foremost in the settlement of this question, for it is they, and they alone, who are directly affected by the ultimate disposal of the New Hebrides, and who will have to suffer all the painful consequences should an irretrievable mistake be made by the Colonial Office in London. If only both England and France could acquire some adequate appreciation of the strength of Australian native sentiment with respect to foreign aggression in the Pacific, all these needlessly protracted diplomatic negotiations would speedily terminate, and both countries would see the propriety of rigidly respecting the provisions of the existing treaty, and regarding the New Hebrides for the future as neutral territory.

What will be the outcome of the diplomatic correspondence now being carried on it is impossible to say. Meanwhile the French New Hebrides Company is giving the missions all the trouble it can. French men-of-war bring Catholic priests to the islands, and the missionaries are informed that they must expect sharp antagonism. France in her colonial policy is intensely Catholic, and if the New Hebrides becomes French territory it will be difficult, if not impossible, for the Protestant missionaries to go on

with their work. The outlook of the mission otherwise is full of promise. The natives of Futuna, one of the islands, have, with their own hands, just removed the "sacred stones" and symbols worshiped by their fathers, and Santo Espiritu, an island densely populated with cannibals, has just been occupied by two missionaries intent on winning it from heathenism to Christ and civilization. If moral considerations had weight in diplomacy the New Hebrides would remain neutral territory.

A year or more ago Spain took possession of the Caroline Islands, a group lying north of New Guinea and to the west and south of the Sandwich Islands. Whatever Christianity and civilization are to be found in this group are due to the American Board, whose missionaries have been at work in it for thirty-five years. The Rev. E. T. Doane, who is now sixty-seven years of age, has spent thirty years in this mission. For some years he has resided on Ponape, and when that island was turned over to Spain he was the medium of communication between the Spanish authorities and the chiefs, and was treated with so much consideration by the former that it was hoped the mission would remain undisturbed. Spanish favor, however, is not a thing to be counted on by Protestants. Mr. Doane enjoyed it while he was useful to the Spanish governor, but the time soon came when the governor changed his attitude toward him, and for reasons which do not yet fully appear he seems to have decided to persecute him, and so get rid of him if possible. Mr. Doane, to his great surprise, was placed under arrest in May last, and imprisoned. The first charge he heard of in connection with his arrest was, that in a protest he had sent in against the seizing of certain mission lands, he had used the word "arbitrary" in characterizing the act of seizure. He was imprisoned fifteen days on a Spanish steamship, at the end of which time his imprisonment was extended, though no specific charge was made or definite reason given for the arbitrary proceeding. After Mr. Doane had been held on the steamship six weeks, he was sent to Manila, a port of the Philippine Islands, for trial. The charges on which he was to be tried were, as he learned just before sailing, in substance these: 1. Putting a girl in irons. 2. Inciting the natives to attack the Spanish steamship. 3. Asking the natives to pray that the steamship might sink or be wrecked. 4. Storing guns in his house. 5. Interfering with the trade of certain foreigners. Mr. Doane was put at great disadvantage by being conveyed to Manila, far away from all his witnesses. But fortunately the governor-general had different ideas as to justice or expediency from those of the governor of Ponape, and on a strong representation being made to him by the American consul on behalf of Mr. Doane he promised to release him and send him back to Ponape, afford him protection in his work, and restore his property. The consul is to ask also for damages to the amount of $5,000 or $10,000. The captain-general, it is said, is profuse in his apologies for the wrong done Mr. Doane, and proposes to remove the governor of Ponape for his arbitrary action. All this may be true, but it would not be wise to build confidently upon Spanish promises of

impartiality or even toleration in religious matters. One of the missionaries in Ponape writes as follows concerning the state of the mission :

Never was the island in so good a condition as when the Spaniard came. The work never prospered so well as during the last year. Church work, schools, every thing was in good order. The wreck that has been made in three months seems impossible. The public schools, with the exception of two, he has closed. The church services at one station are closed, and we live in hourly expectation of a notice to close the boarding-school. As it is, we have to watch the girls day and night to keep them from being stolen and placed where they will learn, to say the least, no good. . . . If it is a fact that we must leave and resign all to Spain, then as soon as possible we want to hear this from you [the American Board], not from a foreign power." Unless forced to leave the work, as Mr. Doane has been, we will not yield one inch of ground or slack up one particle in our teaching until we hear from you.

THE ANGLICAN CHURCH MISSION IN UGANDA.—Affairs in Uganda, Central Africa, improve little, if at all. The missionary of the Church Society, Mr. A. M. Mackay, remains there, virtually a prisoner, and the young King Mwanga keeps the executioners busy. Mr. Mackay says it is a mercy that he is still living (his last letter was dated March 6 last). He has "nothing to report but tears and groans." There has been a period of respite, but another reign of terror seems to be at hand. He writes:

Less than a month ago we had another *scare* on a Sunday morning, and I had to dismiss our little congregation suddenly. The king had given out that he intended making another onslaught on the Christians, but happily he has hitherto been prevented from his bloodthirsty design. One or two of those in hiding had ventured to come to light, and nothing was done to them. Then another one or two prisoners for the faith were liberated, and intimation was made that all others in hiding might return. One ventured. He had been a page, and was at once sent by the king to the Katikiro, but has no more been seen. There is, in fact, sufficient evidence that he was secretly murdered in that official's inclosures.

The next thing to engage the royal attention was the Koran. This the king both read himself and ordered every body else to read, the Arabs using the opportunity to urge "His Fickleness" to sacrifice Christians so as to bewitch those who were disobedient to him. Says Mr. Mackay:

One and another of the pages were ordered to read Arabic, and the head of the pages (successor of Mukasa Bali Kidumbe, who lost his life for venturing to interpose on behalf of Bishop Hannington) was sent for to his country-seat that he might be forced to learn the Koran. The Arabs were all present with the king and their book, when, suddenly, fire broke out in the women's quarters. The wind was blowing fresh from the south, as it generally does at midday. The flames spread, and almost all the king's huge houses were reduced to ashes. He fled to the Katikiro's, but the sparks followed in the air, and that chief's houses and property were also quickly consumed. The king's property was saved, however, although several store-houses were burned.

It is just a year since the royal premises were formerly burned to the ground, and similar threats and charges of witchcraft were made against the Christians as now. No wonder that our people are all uneasy and alarmed. But we are upheld by your prayers and protected by an Arm infinitely mightier than Mwanga's.

Mr. Mackay heartily approves the application of Emin Bey for a British protectorate over the equatorial provinces of Soudan. Mr. Mackay says

if England would establish this protectorate she could soon make that center of African slavery a center of peace and liberty for half the continent. At present those persecuted in Uganda have nowhere to flee, for the king has made enemies of all the surrounding tribes. On the south is the impassable barrier of Lake Nyanza; east is the Nile, issuing out of the lake, with cruel enemies beyond; north is a country constantly at war with Uganda; west is the river Katonga, seldom fordable, and such fords as there are perpetually guarded. It may be that Stanley, who was the first to bring Uganda and its king Mtesa to the attention of the missionary societies, will help to settle the future of this region in his present march to the relief of Emin Bey.

At the annual meeting of the Methodist Episcopal mission in Bulgaria in July, encouraging reports were presented from pastors, preachers, teachers, and colporteurs. The meetings in Loftcha have been better attended than ever before, and the prejudices of the people seem to be relaxing. In Plevna there is still some persecution, which, perhaps, will serve to call more attention to the mission and its work. The village work in the Lower Danube district is reported to be quite encouraging, and the mission at Varna has made some advance. The great obstacle in Bulgaria just now is, of course, the unsettled state of the country. Russia, apparently, is determined not to allow the establishment of any permanent government that is not of her own choice. She is maneuvering for advantage, and hoping that internal disturbances, or some other pretext, will be given her for seizing the principality. The prospect of an early solution of the Bulgarian question is not promising. Meantime our missionaries can do little but hold their own.

A Successful Mission in North India.—The United Presbyterian Church of this country, though embracing less than a hundred thousand communicants, has large and successful foreign missions. It used to have missions in India, China, Syria, Trinidad, and Egypt, but for some years it has concentrated its energies on India and Egypt. The field in India is on the Punjab, on the borders of Cashmere, under the shadows of the Himalayas. The mission was begun in 1855, but its growth was slow down to 1880. It did not confine its work to low castes or high castes, but sought to reach men of all castes. The majority of its members, however, are from the low castes, which seem every-where to be the most accessible. The mission is divided into eight districts, which are crowded with villages. The work is almost entirely among these villages, and the communicants represent no fewer than 380 villages. In one district alone—the Zafarwal—the number of villages containing Christians is 156. Among this village population Christianity is spreading with astonishing rapidity. In 1880 there were in all this mission but 337 communicants; now the number is 4,019, and of the seven years no one was so fruitful as the last. The return of the previous year was 2,176, showing an increase for the past year of 1,843, or a percentage of 84. There was a cor-

responding gain in the Christian population, which numbers 5,873 against 3,245 in the previous year. The number of adult baptisms was 1,936, or 93 more than the net increase. The schools increased in number by 55, there being 127 in all, but the gain in scholars was only 40. Of Christian helpers there are 136, a gain of 47. The prospect of another successful year is very encouraging, the baptisms of adults in part of the mission during the first month being 122. The mission is organized as a presbytery known as the Sialkot Presbytery, taking its name from one of the districts.

CATHOLIC OUTBREAK IN MEXICO.—There has been much discussion recently in the Roman Catholic press of this country concerning an observation of Bishop Hurst, to the effect that the disgraceful spectacle of Mexican bull-fights would never end until Spanish Catholicism is superseded by American Protestantism. The Catholic papers seem to think this a rather harsh remark, and defend their Church as best they can. But they have a difficult task. Bull-fighting is not, however, the worst thing that Mexican Catholicism allows. There comes from Ahuacuatilan a horrible story of assassination of a native Protestant preacher and two supporters at the instigation of a priest of the Roman Catholic Church. The story as told by the Rev. J. M. Greene, of the Presbyterian Mission, fixes the responsibility for the crime directly on Father Vergara, the members of his flock being his ready instruments. The victims were the Rev. Abraham Gomez, a young Indian, ordained less than a year ago, Miguel Cipriano, and the wife of Felipe Zaragoza. A Presbyterian society had been in existence at Ahuacuatilan, in the State of Guerrero—which lies in the southern part of Mexico and borders on the Pacific Ocean—for some years, and the governor of the State, having been informed that Mr. Gomez was to be appointed to the pastorate, promised all needful protection. Mr. Gomez began at once to plan for a church building, but a Catholic mob interfered with his plans and put an end to his life on the 7th of August. The day before Father Vergara, the Catholic priest at Teloloapam, three miles from Ahuacuatilan, came to the village and celebrated mass. In the course of his sermon, according to Mr. Greene, he appealed to his hearers to "make an example of the minister of Satan" who had come among them, adding that they might "kill him" with all safety, counting upon his own protection and that of the chief of police. Vergara had been given the parish of Teloloapam by the Bishop of Guerrero on condition that he would exterminate the Protestant congregations in all that region. We give Mr. Greene's account of the crime:

> This was on Saturday. The following day at midnight seven drunken women appeared in the Protestant quarter of the town and began to commit disorders, which seemed to deserve rebuke at the hands of the authorities, and Abraham with six of the brethren visited the judge and presented their complaint. Strangely enough, the only reply given was the arrest and imprisonment of five of the brethren, and the dismissal of Abraham and of Felipe Zaragoza, who returned full of anxiety to the house of the latter. Very soon after the judge ordered the church bell to be rung, and thus gathered some two hundred men and

women in the court-room, to whom he gave his instructions, and sent them forth on their bloody mission. Like infuriated savages they made their way at once to Zaragoza's house, and being unable to force the door they tore up the roof, and with machete and pistols killed first Mrs. Zaragoza. Felipe, seeing the danger of Abraham, ran to him and threw his arms about him, but was immediately torn away and disabled by a pistol shot in his left arm. He was then stretched out on the floor and his Bible placed under his head as a pillow in derision. This done the ruffians turned to Abraham, who sat on the bed with his head resting on his hands, and dealt him a terrible blow with a machete, then he was shot with a pistol, and his poor mangled body, lifeless and bleeding, was dragged from the house out into the street and along the highway, receiving all sorts of indignities, being literally hacked to pieces with machetes.

Not content even with this, the murderous ruffians returned to the house, stole the money, clothing, and books of our dear brother, and again sallied forth in quest of a third victim, Miguel Cipriano, whom they killed in the same manner as the rest. The following day the three bodies were buried in the public cemetery. Nearly all our surviving brethren have been arrested and remain under guard. Only seven of the assailants are prisoners, and even they fully expect to be liberated speedily, being sure of the favor and protection of the local authorities.

It is doubtful if a single Catholic paper will condemn either priest or bishop. Such cases have occurred before and some excuse has usually been found. Nobody expects that the priest will be removed, nor that the bishop will suffer any inconvenience as the result of this crime, which both appear to have abetted, unless the State should call them to account. The Church has been slowly regaining the power and influence it lost with the downfall of the empire and the establishment of the republic, and the missionaries fear, if the reaction goes on, that it may become extremely difficult for them to carry on their work in peace. The Rev. Samuel P. Craver, a missionary of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Queretaro, in a careful review of the history of the past thirty years, says:

> We find a decided reaction in favor of the Roman Catholic Church. The masses are less accessible now than they were ten years ago, and the struggle of the priesthood to regain their prestige and get control of public affairs is persistent, earnest, and largely successful. It is true the Reform Laws have not been repealed, but in many parts of the country they are almost a dead-letter. Processions of the host, the priestly vestments, clanging of bells, and other flagrant violations of the law are extremely common. The authorities in many places connive at these violations, and in others lack the nerve to execute the law against the will of the fanatical masses. These facts in themselves indicate something of a reaction, but there are others which point to a decided "revival of Roman Catholicism in Mexico."

The other facts referred to by Mr. Craver are the activity observable in the repairing of old churches and the building of new; the establishment of schools on a large scale; the increase of pilgrimages to sacred shrines; the greater frequency of "missions" carried on by "missioners," whose great ambition appears to be to increase the blind fanaticism of the people and their hatred of Protestantism; the constantly augmenting influence of the Church party in government affairs; the increasing subserviency of the people in general to the mandates of the priests, and their consequent imperviousness to the influence of Protestantism. But the Liberal element will not allow the old state of things to be restored

without at least a sharp conflict, and the Liberal press is even now giving warning against the encroachments of the Church.

THE ENGLISH BAPTIST CONGO MISSION has sustained a heavy loss in the death of one of the chief missionaries, the Rev. T. J. Comber. He was one of the pioneers, and was possessed of fine qualities as a leader. He died of fever. A brother and a sister died in the mission field, one at Ngombe, the other at Victoria, and the only surviving brother of this devoted missionary family is connected with the mission on the Congo.

A NOTABLE CORRESPONDENCE has taken place between the Bishop of Rangoon (Anglican) and Dr. Wright, a representative of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and the Secretary of the American Baptist Missionary Union, Dr. Murdock, concerning an edition of Judson's Burman Bible, with certain changes in the words standing for baptism. Dr. Wright's proposal was, that the word baptize and its cognates be rendered by some neutral term, or by the transliteration of the Greek. If the Union would allow the change to be made the Society would freely circulate the Judson New Testament as well as the Old. Otherwise it could not, as its constitution does not permit it to circulate a "sectarian" Bible, and the use of the words "dip" and "dipping" makes the Judson Bible sectarian. Dr. Murdock writes sharply in response, declining the request. He says:

> We desire that the Burmese New Testament shall mean to the Burmese what the Greek New Testament means to those who are able to read it—nothing more and nothing less. We should be sorry to have the minds of our native Christians disturbed on this point, and never with our consent or complicity will a change be made which will leave their minds in doubt or obscurity on a thing so important.

There will be, in consequence, as Dr. Wright's letter intimates, a new translation of the New Testament, under the auspices of the British and Foreign Bible Society.

THE MAGAZINES AND REVIEWS.

THE *Westminster* (English) for June discusses the character and career of Mr. Chamberlain, whose position in English political affairs is a matter of much interest to all parties, and, as might be expected from the temper of the magazine, is not at all complimentary to Mr. Chamberlain, whose defection from the Gladstonian leadership has caused profound excitement, as well as painful disappointment. The supremacy of Mr. Gladstone seems, in the English Liberal mind, to be so necessary to the unity of the Liberal party that his admirers are unwilling to concede to any one else the liberty of action which the great leader claims for himself. The article is an excellent illustration of the height to which party passion rises in England. While the temper of this paper is not scurrilous, it is

yet as severe as any one we have seen in the highest range of American political excitement.

A paper of very great importance and interest bears the peculiar title, "Form of Capture in Marriage Ceremonies," a subject to which the late J. F. McLennan gave importance by interpreting it as symbolical. Repulsive enough in some of its aspects, the subject is highly picturesque and fascinating in others. Great interpreters, like McLennan and Herbert Spencer, have found it one of the most perfect and most easily intelligible illustrations of the methods of social archæology. McLennan first set out to track these marriage customs to their source in the ideas and tribal arrangements of a more archaic social state, and in so doing he has come upon some strange secrets concerning the social life of our ancestors in the remotest past, a past compared with which the earliest times that philology has penetrated are but modern. He was the first to note the wide deviation of the form of capture in marriage ceremonies. McLennan finds this feature in the marriage ceremonies of half-civilized people in all parts of the world, and in many highly civilized he finds traces of their former existence. The passage of an actual fight for the possession of the bride into a sham fight seems to mark an advance in civilization. The custom is found in Africa, in India, among the Mongols of the Ortous, and it is certainly remarkable that the customs in respect of marriage among the Mussulmans of India and the French of Berry should so closely resemble each other, when these people have so little in common in history, religion, or social arrangements, and are so widely separated geographically. Among the Croats a similar mock siege takes place, and there are many other distinct traces of the form of capture among the south Slavonians generally. Among the English there is no trace of bride capturing unless pelting the bridal pair with rice and slippers be one, but in Welsh, Scotch, and Irish popular history there are many traces of it. The cases cited belong to present or recent times, but the literature of Greece and Rome, the Hebrews and the Arabs, shows traces of a similar custom. An interesting variation is that obtaining among the Kirghis. The bride, armed with a formidable whip, mounts a fleet horse and is pursued by all the young men who make any pretensions to her hand. She will be given to the one who captures her, but she has the right, besides urging on her horse to the utmost, to use her whip, often with no mean force, to keep off those lovers who are unwelcome to her, and she will probably favor the one whom she has already chosen in her heart. Strangely enough, this custom seems historically to have had a direct relation to female infanticide. Female children among savage tribes being a source of weakness to the tribe, the resulting scarcity of adult women compelled the men to seek wives from neighboring tribes; and as they were in a state of constant hostility they had to take the women by force.

A paper of peculiar interest to our readers is that on "American People and their Homes." Ambitious American ladies are informed in this article that by a recent order of the Lord Chamberlain American

ladies may be presented to the queen, but are not eligible to the court festivities. The writer holds that the reason why English and American people never quite understand each other, and why there is a succession of furious quarrels and profuse amenities, lies in the fact that the American climate is full of oxygen; it is prone to extremes; it is crude; snow falls one day and the roses bud the next. This extraordinary fitfulness has affected the appearance, the nerve, the character, and the conduct of that offshoot of England known as America. The American finds the men whom he calls cranks at home preferred by London society to himself. They are not eager to welcome the gloomily respectable, of whom they have the best examples at home. This baffling indiscrimination applies more strongly to women. The genius of American civilization, according to this critic, often leads the American woman into a sort of exaggeration—an unintentional falsehood—which is misunderstood in England. Society in American cities, according to this writer, needs a head; conversation needs a model. American women, as a rule, know nothing about politics, and therefore miss one of the important inspirations of conversation. The peculiar inspiration of American women leaves them indefinite and inaccurate. The English voice, owing to the English temperament, is beautifully rich and resonant by nature: the pronunciation clear and neat. The American voice is poor, and the pronunciation slovenly. The houses of New York, according to the Duke of Argyle, are costly and ostentatious far beyond those of London, but the writer fears the Duke did not see the comfort of these American interiors as compared with an English house. Our house-heating furnaces are not to be commended; we bake ourselves as well as our meats, and come out shining tributes to malaria and influenzas. Americans have entered upon their epicurean era; New York palaces have taken on a Venetian aspect. America, like Venice, is free, commercial, republican. But the English dining-room has taken firm hold of the American taste, while France sends her clocks, the East her carpets and curtain stuffs, the Saracens their arabesques, China and Japan their porcelain, Spain and Morocco tiles and stamped leather. The writer admits that for beauty, durability, and taste the homes of America challenge competition with the world, needing one ennobling touch—the touch of the artist in painting and sculpture, and one beautifier—time.

The *Quarterly* (English) for July has as its most noticeable paper of American interest a discussion of great men and the doctrine of evolution. Mr. Lilly, the author of *Chapters on English History*, having boldly attacked the Spencerian theory of evolution in its relation to the importance of personality, this article is a review of his work. It contains the following passage of great interest to Methodists:

> Among the figures conspicuous in the history of England in the last century there is none, perhaps, more worthy of careful study than that of John Wesley. Make all the deductions you please for his narrowness, his self-conceit, his extravagance, and still it remains that no one so nearly approaches the fullness of stature of the great heroes of Christian spiritualism of the early and Middle Ages. Nor

is the rise of the sect which has adopted his name by any means the most important of the results of his life and labors. It is not too much to say, that he and those whom he formed and influenced kept alive in England the idea of the supernatural order amid the dull materialism and selfish coldness of the eighteenth century.

He holds Wesley (with Hildebrand, St. Augustine, and a few others) to be one of the great personalities who are the real shapers of history.

The August *Blackwood* has very little to say of American interest beyond an account of a fall hunt in the Rocky Mountains, which is written with great spirit and life. Of general literary interest there are papers upon the Old Saloon, with a poem upon Socrates of much merit.

The *New Princeton* for September gives prominent place to a paper on "The Origin of Life," by our Professor Conn, whose able work we are glad to see have this important recognition. The animus of Professor Conn's paper will be found in the following sentences:

> The origin of life is shrouded in as deep darkness as ever, in spite of the statements sometimes heard that the solution of the question is close at hand. Many secondary problems have been and are being solved, but the real problem remains as yet untouched except by hypothesis and speculation. Vital processes may all be shown to be chemical and physical processes, but this will never explain why they are carried on automatically in living protoplasm only; and granting, if we are inclined to do so, that it is one of the physical properties of the complex composition of living protoplasm to direct this play of forces, there still remains the fact that to-day protoplasm can only come from other living protoplasm. Whence, then, came the first living protoplasm? To this question science offers, first, the law of continuity, in terms of which the spontaneous generation of life is a necessity; and, second, various speculations which, though acknowledged to be entirely unfounded, in fact are regarded as showing that in the boundless possibilities of the past spontaneous generation might well have taken place, provided it be granted that life is simply the result of complex chemical and molecular composition. This is certainly no very great result.

Standing as our Church does in the front rank as an advocate of constitutional prohibition, many of our readers will be greatly interested in the article by Gov. Colquitt, entitled, "Some Plain Words on Prohibition," which is enthusiastically in favor of legal prohibition of the liquor traffic. The author makes short work of the arguments with which temperance reformers are confronted, meeting the sophistry of the phrase "sumptuary laws" by saying: "If this means that the government has no right to say what we shall eat or what we shall drink, what right has the State to say that no man shall sell a kit of mackerel or a barrel of flour before it bear the stamp? Why say to the butcher that he sins against society and must be taxed because he turns his fats into oleomargarine?"

All missionary authorities will welcome the leading paper in the July number of the *Presbyterian Review* on "Co-operation in Foreign Missions." While there is less ground of complaint than in former times, it is yet to be admitted that the scandal and shame of Protestant missions in foreign countries has been the interference of rival churches with preoccupied fields, in which the Church of England and the Protestant Episcopal

Church have been, perhaps, the most offensive sinners. But, as has been intimated, recent action shows a much better state of things, with a far more successful tendency to avoid conflict of fields, laborers, and operations, and needless expenditure of money.

In the postulates of physiological psychology Professor J. Marks Baldwin, of Princeton, sets forth the importance of the relations of the so-called new psychology, without being ready to admit that it is a new psychology at all, the key-note of his article being found in the sentence:

> As long as consciousness is immediate and matter is mediate, there can be no question as to the ultimate adjustment of their claims; and there should be no hesitation in widening the borders of the philosophy of mind, at the same time that we do not presume to draw the dividing line which nature still conceals.

The July *Bibliotheca Sacra* discusses the relation of the American Board to church councils, and finding the church council idea inadequate, proposes a new plan by which to bring about the simplicity of a corporation, which might do for a bank but does not do for the conduct of missions for the churches, into better relations with the contributing body. The paper indicates a wide divergence of opinion as to the best method of adjusting the difficulties arising from the spread of the new theology. A very interesting paper upon a not over-fresh subject comes from the pen of the Rev. P. D. Cowan, of Wellesley, Mass., on the question, "How was Abraham Saved?"

The writer holds that simple belief in God on his part, of which a striking instance is given us in the 15th of Genesis, is clearly set forth as the act through which he attained justification by faith and entered into peace with God. What Abraham did was to accept the promise of God as though it had been already performed. "Abraham believed God, and it was counted unto him for righteousness." Nothing is here said of Christ; there is no reference to any atoning work of his. Of course, the author takes care to add that he does not say that Abraham was, or that any one else can be, saved without Christ. In the plan of God the sacrifice of Christ was provided from the foundation of the world. If the Christian is asked, "What gain is there in the Gospel over the truth which Abraham possessed?" the answer is given by asking another question: "Is there any gain in the splendor of the noon-tide over the dimness of the dawn?" The importance of this is seen in the statement which follows:

> The heathen, therefore, who have never heard of Christ do not on that account require a probation after death in order to have a fair chance of salvation. They have a fair chance without such knowledge of Christ, so that the theory of a future probation becomes utterly gratuitous. Once admit in the case of Abraham the principle of salvation by grace through faith without a knowledge of the Gospel and you have a principle which will apply to every class which is without the Gospel.

It is very pleasant to find the teaching with regard to the possible salvation of the heathen which our Methodist fathers advanced here finding publication and apparent acceptance in the sturdy and orthodox *Bibliotheca Sacra*.

An interesting examination of spiritualistic theories is that contributed by Prof. H. W. Parker, of Iowa College, on "False Revelations of the Unseen." The *Bibliotheca* has certainly gained by its removal to the West, and in its fifty-seventh year displays a most scholarly spirit.

The September *Forum* reaches with that number its fourth volume, and opens with a discussion of the Sixteenth Amendment by Senator Ingalls. He does not find a very great demand for female suffrage in the willingness of women to use the opportunities which have already been given. In 170 of the 347 cities and towns in the State of Massachusetts, from 1879 to 1886 not one woman has ever registered or voted; in 200, or more than one half, no woman has ever voted, though in 30 of them a few have occasionally registered. Out of 486,310 female voters in 1885 there registered in 1886 4,219, and 1,911 voted, being one in 254 of those who were eligible.

The author of *John Halifax, Gentleman*, writes Concerning Men, but her time is chiefly taken up in discussing women. Like some others, she states that although we find continually exceptions—women as strong as many a man, and men tenderer than most women—still the creed that woman is 'the lesser man does in the main hold good, intellectually as well as physically. Morally she doubts. She is afraid that absolute equality between men and women is impossible. She holds that the instinct of woman, or at least the nobler half of woman, is not only to live but to worship, to make herself a mat for the man's feet to walk over; to believe every thing he does and says is right; to live or die for him, and to merge her own identity completely in his. We shall wait with profound interest for the attack upon this paper by the woman suffragists, which will be as lively as it is inevitable.

Professor E. D. Cope attempts something more than a catechism answer to the question, What is the object of life? discussing the matter from a scientific and philosophic stand-point. Among the chief objects in life he finds the consideration of the relation of human life to the universe in general, and to the present existence of the earth. Good health and physical tone are essentials of happiness; the exercise of faculties necessary for protection and defense is pleasurable in healthy persons. The intense forms of pleasures and pains are due to our social natures. Persons cast in unpleasant surroundings have generally the opportunity to change these relations, and it is a work of high philanthropy to place no obstacle in the way of this change, and to assist it. The pleasure of improving environment by voluntary effort is a very great one. To contribute to the sum of human happiness apart from one's own immediate enjoyment is a well known source of pleasure. The supply of mental necessities, the opportunity and fact of ethical culture, add much to the enjoyment of life.

Professor C. A. Young, one of the highest authorities in the country, discusses great telescopes—those of Lord Rosse, Lascelle, and especially sketching the great success of the Clarkes of Cambridgeport. Particular

attention is given to the great Lick telescope. For ordinary work enormous instruments are not advantageous; those of moderate dimensions will do far more easily and rapidly the work of which they are capable. It is poor economy to shoot squirrels with 15-inch cannon. But the great telescope has two advantages, which are decisive. In the first place it collects more light, and so makes it possible to use higher magnifying power, and thus virtually to draw nearer to the object than can be done with a smaller one; and in the next place, in consequence of what is known as diffraction, the image of a luminous point on all the large lens is smaller and sharper than that made by a small one. Atmospheric disturbances very seriously affect the use of large instruments. "The power of the prince of the air," which is to the astronomer the very type of the total depravity of inanimate things, on nine clear nights out of ten deprives a great telescope of much of its superiority, so that on an ordinary night a good observer with an aperture of ten or fifteen inches can make out all that can be fairly seen with an instrument of much greater size.

Professor John Bascom, whose fairness of mind fits him peculiarly for the discussion of the labor question, attempts to give its gist, so that it may readily be perceived. He concludes that we must recognize labor organizations and control them by aiding them. We must decisively check immigration that increases unoccupied labor; we must encourage co-operation; we must guard against such an accumulation of wealth in the hands of a few as destroys fair competition; we should so order taxation that it should not fall heavily upon those who have lost or are losing foothold in the economic world. We should guard against combinations among capitalists which are designed to maintain prices by limited production; and all combinations among workmen to maintain or to advance wages by shutting the doors of progress on their fellows. But the most fundamental of social evils is, in the thought of Professor Bascom, as in the thought of all who think, the moral one. Men must improve in order to improve their condition.

Professor Alexander Winchell criticises with great vigor Ignatius Donnelly's comet, by which he supposes much damage was done to the earth in past times. There is a mild vein of satire in this paper which makes it very pleasant reading.

The *Homiletic Review* is publishing a brilliant series of papers in criticism of great preachers. The September number is given to the consideration of Phillips Brooks. While admitting his greatness, the author finds his style often careless and sometimes obscure, and that his references to Scripture are not always accurate; but believes that the largeness and large-heartedness of this messenger of truth rebuke all petty fault-finding. The writer expresses what many others have felt, when he says that Phillips Brooks as a preacher is a noble contagion.

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

Apologetics; or, the Scientific Vindication of Christianity. By J. H. A. EBRARD, Ph.D., D.D. Translated by Rev. JOHN MACPHERSON, M.A. 8vo, pp. 423. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner & Welford.

In this second volume of his *Apologetics*, Ebrard first examines the theories of Darwin and of Häckel, "his most eminent disciple," on the Origin of Species. Unawed by the great reputation of the former, or by the audacious self-assertion of the latter, he assails with the confidence of a master the scientific accuracy of both in their statement of facts fundamental to the anti-Christian portions of their theories, and triumphantly defends the harmony of the Mosaic record with the ascertained facts of science. With trenchant wit he pushes the materialistic assertions of Häckel to their logical conclusion, that "bestiality is the morality of materialism." He next discusses the pantheism of Spinoza, as developed by Hegel, and by a strictly logical processd emonstrates that Hegelianism ends in both "ethical and metaphysical bankruptcy." Having thus disposed of materialism and pantheism, he proposes to treat of Christianity as an historical fact in its organic connection with the general history of religion. In approaching this topic he begins with a comprehensive survey of the religions of men. Under this head he describes the principal features of the religion of the Aryan Indians, the Iranians, the Greeks, the Egyptians, the Canaanites, and heathen Semites, and the races of the north and west of Europe. The third and final volume of his *Apologetics*, soon to be issued, will treat of revealed religion. Dr. Ebrard is learned, wise, logical, witty, and loyal in his adhesion to the truth as it is found in Holy Writ. His *Apologetics* cover a vast variety of topics, and are of great value to students who are interested in meeting the objections invented by skeptical scientists and philosophers against theism and Christianity.

An Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament. By Rev. BENJAMIN B. WARFIELD, D.D., Professor of Theology in the Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J. 16mo, pp. 225. New York: Thomas Whittaker. 75c.

The design of this treatise is to prepare students to exercise the art of textual criticism, and to enter upon the study of the science in such standard works as *Hort's Introduction* and *Dr. Gregory's Prolegomena to Tischendorf's Eighth Edition.* Its "Introductory" defines the word "text" as the *ipsissima verba* of a document, which criticism seeks to sift out from such corruptions as may have found their way into copies of it. It then treats of the "Matter," the "Methods," the "Praxis," and the "History" of criticism, in that lucidity of style which implies the writer's mastery of his themes. Its author disclaims all pretense to originality, but he must be credited with the ability with which he has put the results of profounder works into this comprehensive digest, which is all that its author claims for it.

A Hand-book of the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans. Based on the Revised Version and the Revisers' Text, for the Use of Students and Bible Classes. By N. BURWASH, S.T.D., Professor of Biblical and Systematic Theology in Victoria University. 16mo, pp. 256. Toronto: W. Briggs.

This volume is more valuable than its modest title page seems to imply. We know of no book of its size that throws so much light on Paul's great theological epistle as this "hand-book." Taking as his key to its elucidation the theory that St. Paul wrote it not alone in response to the unbelieving Jews, but also and mainly in opposition to the heresy of Ebionitism, which, though not then speculatively developed into a formal system, was nevertheless rudimentally existent in unsystematized theories and in antinomian practices, Dr. Burwash is able to discover a completeness in the logical unity of the epistle which many expositors have failed to find. Hence his exposition of its confessedly difficult parts is eminently clear, and in the main very satisfactory. In his exegesis, which, though not pedantic, is yet sufficiently learned, he is clear and skillful; in his reasoning on the various interpretations given to obscure passages he is generally convincing; in his criticism he follows the historical method, while distinctly recognizing the inspiration of his author. He finds in Paul's theology a system of thought which harmonizes with the Arminianism of Methodism; and he says in his preface, that "while dealing more directly with the intellectual aspects of this great book, we have not lost sight of the fact that intellect is quickened into its highest life by the profoundest emotion, and that he who would understand Paul aright must feel with him."

Psychology. The Motive Powers — Emotions, Conscience, Will. By JAMES MCCOSH, D.D., LL.D., Lit.D. 12mo, pp. 267. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. $1 50.

In a previous volume Dr. McCosh treated of the cognitive powers, in this he unfolds the characteristics of the motive powers, that is, "the feelings, the affections, the sentiments, the heart." These latter powers he discusses under three heads, the emotions, the conscience, the will. The venerable doctor writes with the authority of a master in philosophy, as he has the right to do. In a style that is lucid, terse, vigorous, and attractive, he explains with singular simplicity and comprehensiveness the nature, operation, and effects of the manifold motives which influence the operations of the self-determining will. It is rich in felicitous illustrations of principles, and thus adapted to secure the attention of a student, and to attract him to the study of the phenomena of the mind. The venerable author, having learned the art of teaching through long practice in the class-room, has produced a text-book which teachers of mental science will find exceedingly helpful.

The Appeal to Life. By THEODORE J. MUNGER, Author of the *Freedom of Faith.* 12mo, 339 pp. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $1 50.

Mr. Munger is a strong thinker, a fascinating writer, and an eloquent advocate of what is known as "progressive orthodoxy." In this volume

we have fourteen discourses from his pen, which, though not as pronounced in their presentations of his characteristic opinions as the sermons in his *Freedom of Faith*, are nevertheless based upon them. Though containing much that is stimulating to religious thought, to spiritual aspirations, and to pure ethical feeling, they are so permeated by sentiments which have their roots in the theology of Schleiermacher that their tendency is to subtly undermine men's faith in the Gospel as interpreted by most evangelical thinkers. These objectionable sentiments are plausible and attractive. There is much in them one may innocently wish were true. But in their logical outcome they teach "another gospel" from that which one's understanding, unbiased by mere sentiment, finds in the New Testament. Therefore, though there is much to be commended in these discourses, they should be read in the clear light of the words of Jesus as illustrated in his wonderful life, and in the further light of those demonstrations of their divine source which every man may find, if he will, by receiving those words into his heart and making them the guides of his practice.

Methods of Church Work, Religious, Social, and Financial. By Rev. SYLVANUS STALL, A.M., Author of *How to Pay Church Debts*, etc., etc. Octavo, pp. 304. New York: Funk & Wagnalls. $1 50.

"All at it and always at it," was the watchword of early Methodism, which aimed to make every converted soul a winner of other souls. Hence the spirit of this volume is necessarily Methodistic, albeit its author is a Lutheran. In its treatment of methods of church work it is catholic, in that its suggestions are in the main more or less adapted to the needs and peculiarities of all denominations. Its value is chiefly in its suggestiveness. Since methods must ever be modified by the circumstances of individual churches, no one way of working can be strictly applicable to all. The principle, the obligation to work for Christ, is, however, universal, is binding on the conscience of every believer. Therefore this book may be helpful to all, but especially to pastors and officers of churches. It treats of every sphere of Christian work, showing in its first part the importance of method and how to make a working church. Its second general topic is, that of saving the young, under which head it explains the methods and uses of such organizations as the White Cross Army, the White Ribbon Army, the Boys' Brigade, etc. Religious meetings, including Sabbath and week-day services, revival efforts, prayer-meetings, class-meetings, etc., are next very sensibly discussed. Part four is devoted to social meetings, including reading circles, literary societies, Chautauqua classes, etc. Part five treats of such "Pastors' Aids" as deaconesses' training schools for laymen, the King's daughters, etc. Part six is financial, and part seven is on such benevolent work as may be done by means of guilds, working-men's clubs, industrial training schools, etc. It is consequently very comprehensive as to its themes. In its treatment of them it is neither narrow nor dogmatic, but forcibly suggestive and often very instructive. For its composition Mr. Stall deserves

the thanks of Christian workers of every name; and while we may not indorse every thing the book contains, we are yet confident that its extensive circulation can scarcely fail to increase the measure of that working godliness by which alone the knowledge of our Lord's infinite love can be made the possession of mankind.

The People's Bible. Vol. VI. By JOSEPH PARKER, D.D. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

The sixth volume of a great work. The plan of the work is unique. It is not a commentary in the ordinary meaning of that word. It consists of discourses upon Holy Scripture, selected notes on special passages, and short, pithy outlines on a few detached verses, which are styled "Handfuls of Purpose for all Gleaners." The present volume is a worthy successor of those previously issued. It bears the mark of its gifted author on every page. The personal sketches suggested by the Book of Judges, the annotated text of Ruth, and the thirty or more discourses contained in this volume abound in suggestive thought, and will richly repay the attentive reader. The prayer preceding each discourse should not be overlooked. While the ministry represented in part by the successive volumes of this work continues to attract one of the most numerous and select congregations in the Christian world, it is idle to assert that the interest of thoughtful Christians in the study of the Bible is on the decline, or that preaching which really helps earnest students in seeking to understand the Scriptures is not attractive.—C.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

The Life of Rev. George C. Haddock. By FRANK C. HADDOCK. Pp. 541. New York: Funk & Wagnalls. $2.

George C. Haddock was, without doubt, a man of extraordinary natural ability. He was strong in heart and brain. What he saw he saw clearly. His moral sense being acute, his convictions were deep and strong. He also had the courage of his convictions. And when his strong sense of duty to God and to man moved him to speak and act, no consequences, however threatening, could keep him silent. These qualities made him a reformer whose speech, though not always tempered with wisdom, quickened the consciences of men, stirred the sympathies of kindred spirits, and fell like arrows tipped with fire on the consciences of guilty men, either winning them to repentance or kindling their rebellious passions to a white heat of indignation against the brave man who dared to call their sin by its right name. Thus endowed, he became a successful Methodist preacher, who filled the most important pulpits in his Conferences if not with universal yet with very general acceptance. Notwithstanding these highly creditable facts, it is by no means probable, had he died an ordinary death, that his memory would have been embalmed in such a bulky volume as this. His ministerial career, successful

though it was, was not in itself so different from that of many others as to interest the general public in the minute details of his personal history. But in the performance of his ministerial duty George C. Haddock, seeing how seriously the drinking habits of society impeded the progress of the Gospel, became deeply interested, and exceptionally active, in promoting temperance by advocating the necessity of laws prohibiting the manufacture and sale of intoxicating drinks. In this, especially in seeking to enforce the violated laws of his State in Sioux City, Iowa, he proved himself such a mighty foe to the liquor-saloon interest that its supporters in that place conspired against him, and procured his death by means of an assassin's bullet. Thus his enemies made him a martyr to a principle on the success of which the prosperity of society and the triumph of the Gospel largely depend: that martyrdom is the justification of the volume under consideration. Details not important to the public in an ordinary life take on an aspect of their own when that life ends in a martyr's death. Men want to know all the particulars in the history of a man whom the enemies of free speech and public morality thought it worth their while to kill.

As to the book itself, viewed as the production of an affectionate son aiming to honestly photograph his father's character, one is not disposed to read it with a coldly critical eye. It is better to read it as a work of love. It is enough to say of it here, that its author writes with considerable skill; that it is a very readable volume; that it contains a rich store of facts and arguments in favor of prohibiting the accursed liquor saloon, the brewery, and the distillery, and that no candid mind having healthful moral instincts can rise from its perusal without being moved to say, at least in his heart, "The liquor saloon, with all its adjuncts, must either be destroyed by society, or society will be itself destroyed by it. The saloon shall be destroyed!" Thus the spirit of the martyred George C. Haddock speaks strongly in this book. To extend its circulation is, therefore, to contribute to the success of the principles of prohibition and, through the avails of its copyright, to the maintenance of the martyr's widow, by whose womanly sympathies he was much and uniformly encouraged in the work for which he died.

A Short History of the Mediæval Church. By JOHN F. HURST, D.D. With Illustrations. 16mo, pp. 120. New York: Chautauqua Press, 805 Broadway. 40 cents.

This little volume is a marvel of condensation. It divides the history of the Mediæval Church into three periods. The first from Charlemagne to Pope Gregory VII.—A. D. 768–1073; the second from Gregory VII. to the removal of the papal see into France—A. D. 1073–1305; the third from 1305 to the Reformation, A. D. 1517. Of necessity it bristles with historical and biographical facts briefly stated, but with such vigor of style and lucidity of statement as to fasten the attention, impress the imagination, and inform the mind. It contains the cream of the history of the Papal Church for nearly seven hundred and fifty years.

History of the United States. Written for the Chautauqua Reading Circles. By EDWARD E. HALE. New York: Chautauqua Press, 805 Broadway. 12mo, pp. 312. $1.

This compactly written volume relates in succinct style the history of our country, beginning with the legendary and romantic accounts of the visit made to our Eastern coasts by the Northmen in the year 1000, and ending with the events of the war of 1812. To compress the multitudinous events of this long period into a volume of this size, without being dull and prosy, was no easy task, but Mr. Hale accomplished it in a manner creditable to his own skill and acceptable to the reader who seeks an intelligible digest of American history. It is lively in its narrations, vivid in its sketches of character, and clear in its statements of the causes which governed the course of the leading events of the history of the United States.

Methodism of the Peninsula; or, Sketches and Events in the History of Methodism in the Maryland and Delaware Peninsula. By Rev. ROBERT W. TODD. Introduction by Rev. Bishop JOHN F. HURST, D.D. 12mo, pp. 343. Methodist Episcopal Book Room, Philadelphia. $1 25.

To the country generally the Maryland and Delaware Peninsula has been until lately almost a *terra incognita.* Its comparative isolation led to the growth of idiosyncrasies of thought, habit, and character in its inhabitants. These peculiarities necessarily affected their religious as well as their social life. Hence its Methodism took on a somewhat exceptional type, and produced some remarkable characters. Many such singular personages, white and black, are freely sketched in this entertaining volume, which, while largely anecdotal, is so written as to bring into view the racy quaintness, the felicitous humor, the deep piety, the characteristic vices, and the fidelity of its people to their accepted principles. It contains materials for the future historians of American Methodism, and is so eminently readable that it must be popular with those of our people who love live books.

Beams of Light on Early Methodism in America. Chiefly Drawn from the Diary, Letters, Manuscripts, Documents, and Original Tracts of Rev. Ezekiel Cooper. Compiled by GEORGE A. PHOEBUS, D.D. 12mo, pp. 337. New York: Phillips & Hunt. $1 25.

Mr. Cooper was one of the leaders of early Methodism. He had the confidence of the men who wrought on its foundation. He saw events not as a spectator, but as a participant in the councils of those who produced them. Hence he writes as a witness of the facts he left on record. In bringing out his hitherto unpublished papers from their hiding places, Dr. Phoebus has done valuable service to the Church. He has produced one of the books from which history is made. Whoever loves to study the planting of our Methodism, its organization, its struggles with the slave power, and its contests on the still vexed presiding elder question, will find some of his old impressions corrected, and, as Dr. Curry says in his introduction, be enabled "to properly estimate the purpose and actions of those who, under God, laid the foundation and began the con-

struction of the portly edifice of organic Methodism." *Beams of Light on Early Methodism* is therefore no misnomer, but its fitting title.

Woman, First and Last, and What She has Done. By Mrs. E. J. RICHMOND. 2 vols., 12mo. New York: Phillips & Hunt. $2.

These two volumes contain sketches of ninety-three women, beginning with Eve, the mother of our race, and closing with Miss Hosmer, an artist of our own times. In sketching these varied characters, most of whom won a conspicuous place in history, Mrs. Richmond has aimed, as she tells us in her preface, to prove "the power of woman for good or evil." This she does, not in elaborate biographical essays, but in plain, lucid outlines of the characteristic incidents of their several lives. One may not accept all her estimates of their worth; yet viewing her sketches as biographical condensations written in unpretentious, simple, agreeable style, one may safely commend them as digests of many historical facts, adapted to inform the general reader, and to quicken the desire of youthful minds for fuller information of the times in which these women lived, of the circumstances which made them what they were, and of the impress they left for good or ill on the communities in which they performed their several parts in the great drama of life. They are desirable books for the youth's department of the Sunday-school library and for the family book-case.

LITERATURE AND FICTION.

Classic German Course in English. By WILLIAM CLEAVER WILKINSON. New York: Chautauqua Press, 805 Broadway. 12mo, pp. 327. $1.

Professor Wilkinson has done valuable service to English readers who, though without a knowledge of the German language, yet desire an intelligent acquaintance with German literature. After giving a comprehensive sketch and characterization of the literature of Germany from the uncertain age which produced the *Nibelungen Lied*, the Iliad of the German-speaking race, down to the present time he gives broad outlines of the lives, with critical estimates of the writings, of Luther, Klopstock, Lessing, Wieland, Herder, Richter, Gœthe, Schiller, the Romancers, and Heine. The biographical outlines, though brief, are so judiciously drawn as to give the reader the leading facts which contributed to the development of their genius and the environments that influenced their career. His critical expositions, illustrated with translations, original and selected, from their respective works, are candid, independent, luminous, and, in the main, sound. By frankly stating the reasons of his critical judgments, the Professor generally persuades his readers that they may safely accept them. In one thing he is especially to be commended. He brings both his authors and their works not only to an intellectual, but also to a moral touchstone. He tries them by the high standard of Christian ethics. The glory with which popular acclaim has surrounded great

names does not blind him to their faults, nor hinder him from censuring a bad man whom he finds it just to praise as a superior writer. Hence the moral tone of his work is eminently healthful. Its style is lively, vigorous, varied, and lucid. It will be read with avidity by all who love good books, and, while it adds to the information of the people, will contribute not a little to their enjoyment.

Poetry and Philosophy of Goethe. Comprising the Lectures and Extempore Discussions before the Milwaukee Literary School in August, 1886. Edited by MARION V. DUDLEY. 12mo, pp. 300. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co.

The Milwaukee Literary School has been called an imitation of the Concord School of Philosophy, albeit it has thus far given itself more to literature than philosophy. That the two schools are one in spirit is shown by the fact that of the eight lecturers at the first session of the Milwaukee School five were from Concord. These lectures, viewed as pieces of literary work, are creditable productions, the fruits of more or less cultured minds and evidences of respectable critical ability. Their authors appear to be worshipers at the shrine of Goethe's genius. To them the author of *Wilhelm Meister*, *Faust*, *Elective Affinities*, etc., is one of the gods of the literary world, ranking with, if not above, Homer, Dante, Shakespeare, and Milton. In maintaining their extravagantly high estimate of Goethe's productions they read ideas into them which none but minds illumined by the light of transcendentalism could find, and they are so in love with Goethe's æsthetical brilliancy that they seem blind to his ethical deformities. Indeed, one of them sees little else than superior virtue even in that essentially bad book, *Elective Affinities*, and attempts the impossible feat of bringing "a clean thing out of an unclean!" From such extreme opinions of the moral worth of Goethe's writings we dissent; and, these lectures to the contrary, must continue to think that, despite his confessedly great personality and many-sided genius, he is a much overrated writer. With Lewes, his biographer, we hold that his *Wilhelm Meister* is "unintelligible, tiresome, fragmentary, dull, and often ill written;" and Lewes might have added, *immoral*. We also think Coleridge right in saying of *Faust*, "There is neither causation nor progression in *Faust*, he is a ready-made conjurer from the beginning; the *incredulus odi* is felt from the first line. The sensuality and the thirst after knowledge are unconnected with each other. . . . There is no whole to the poem; the scenes are mere magic-lantern pictures, and a large part of the work is to me very flat. The German is very pure and fine." Speaking of a proposal to translate *Faust*, Coleridge also said, "I debated with myself whether it became my moral character to render into English language much of which I thought vulgar, licentious, and blasphemous. . . . I never put pen to paper as a translator of *Faust*." By expressing these opinions of Goethe's works we shall displease the authors of these lectures, but for critical opinions, as Dr. Channing said of opinions generally, "we are answerable for their *uprightness*, not for their *rightness*."

A Blot in the 'Scutcheon, and Other Dramas. By ROBERT BROWNING. Edited with notes by WILLIAM J. ROLFE, A. M., and HELOISE E. HERSEY. 16mo, pp. 245. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Browning wrote eight dramas, of which this volume contains three, namely, "A Blot in the 'Scutcheon," "Colombe's Birthday," and "A Soul's Tragedy." To those who take no interest in Browning as a poet because of his obscurity both of thought and style, caused, as Mr. Weiss asserts, by his "condensed energy and meaning," the admirable introduction to these dramas may serve to modify their prejudice. The editors say, with truth, that "the fact that Shakespeare is the only name suggested as we try to deal with Browning's dramatic quality is itself a testimony to the grade of his work. If the first drama in this book does not convince the reader of Browning's right to be judged as seriously as Shakespeare, then we much overrate "A Blot in the 'Scutcheon." But whoever wishes to enjoy either the lyrics or dramas of Browning must read them keeping in mind the observation of James Russell Lowell, that "we discover beauties in exact proportion as we have faith that we shall." To the unthinking, superficial reader, however, Browning's writings will always be as "a sealed book.' And it is not given even to every reflective reader to find, as his most enthusiastic admirers do, the genius of Shakespeare very largely reproduced in his dramas and poems.

The Minor Poems of John Milton. Edited, with Notes, by WILLIAM J. ROLFE, A.M., Lit.D. 16mo, pp. 229. New York: Harper & Brothers.

This volume belongs to the series of English Classics edited by Mr. Rolfe. It includes all Milton's minor poems except a few translations from the Psalms and from Horace. A sketch of his life, with extracts from Channing's admirable essay on Milton, is given in an "Introduction." Mr. Rolfe's explanatory and critical notes add much to the value of the book, inasmuch as they are real helps to a clear understanding of the obsolete words and obscure allusions used by the poet, and consequently to a higher appreciation of the beauty of his poems. Macaulay says, that "the sight of Milton's books, the sound of his name, are pleasant to us. . . . His thoughts are powerful not only to delight, but to elevate and purify."

Nineteenth Century Sense: The Paradox of Spiritualism. By JOHN DARBY. 16mo, pp. 222. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. $1.

"Common sense," the proverb says, "is the growth of all countries," but the "sense" of this volume is the growth of spiritualism, so called, and is so uncommon that none but very uncommon minds can comprehend it. Possibly these may find wisdom in it. We cannot. As we see it, "spiritualism" is not truth but pretense.

A CORRECTION.—The article in the last number of the *Review* entitled "Polity of the Methodist Episcopal Church" was credited to Rev. E. S. McChesney of New York. It should have been Rev. E. S. McChesney, M.A., Allegan, Michigan.

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